



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-197
Wednesday
12 October 1988

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Grosz's Talks With Pact Officers Described

*LD071004388 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Karoly Grosz, party general secretary and premier, received members of the Warsaw Pact's Military Council, who held a session in Budapest. Istvan Kulcsar interviewed Gyula Turner, staff member of the party's Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Turner] One of the aims of the visit was to inform high-ranking military leaders of the socialist countries about our country's life. You have no doubt observed that the international press is writing quite a lot about Hungary. My impression is that our friends, partners, and allies are not accurately informed about one or two events. It was important that they should now see and understand our intentions more clearly.

[Kulcsar] So Karoly Grosz tried to dispel these potential doubts?

[Turner] He tried to dispel them, and on the basis of the nearly hour-and-a-half meeting I think we are justified to claim that the military leaders have understood our ideas and our intentions. They understand better that our country is in a difficult economic situation. They understand that very resolute steps are needed in order to either modernize the uneconomic enterprises or liquidate them. They understand our endeavor to occupy a more determined and clearer place in the international division of labor.

They also showed understanding toward the ideas which unfortunately had to be stated at this forum as well. Our party's general secretary informed the military leaders that we were having to realize our political and economic efforts in conditions in which for the foreseeable future we must also anticipate a fall in living standards. This factor must be taken into account in our military expenditures and in the development of our army as well.

[Kulcsar] Did they show understanding toward this?

[Turner] They naturally examined these processes from the soldiers' point of view, and drew the final conclusion that these measures created good conditions for the fulfilling of the tasks facing the Hungarian People's Army. They showed understanding toward our economic problems and highly appraised the efforts we are exerting to surmount them.

[Kulcsar] Did the military leaders ask any questions? What were they interested in?

[Turner] In their questions and the interest they expressed, the military leaders were primarily concerned with the question of whether we shall succeed in preserving and consolidating socialist society, and whether we shall succeed in further developing the new things that have been manifested in the movements of recent times.

They welcomed the fact, and I would add that they were greatly preoccupied by this, that in the question of the preservation of people's power and democracy there is unity in the Hungarian party and the Hungarian leadership, and that it is the steadfast intention of our leadership to guarantee the country's stability and internal order by political means.

Warsaw Pact Parliamentary Organization Discussed

*LD1210054788 Warsaw PAP in English
0147 GMT 12 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—Under the agreement reached in Berlin at a working meeting of chairmen of parliaments of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty, working consultations started here today on establishing a joint parliamentary organization.

The meeting is attended by representatives of parliaments of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.

Warsaw Pact Military Publishers Meet in Sofia

*AU0610152188 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in
Bulgarian 5 Oct 88 pp 1, 3*

[Report by Khristo Georgiev: "The Military Book—Soldier of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Millions of people read books on military subjects, books that describe mankind's heroic struggle for social truths and depict the image of the modern soldier of socialism, who carries world peace on his shoulders.

This is why the military publishing houses of the socialist countries have always shown concern for the publication of works with a high ideological and artistic content. An expression of this concern is the meeting of the leaders of the military publishing houses of the fraternal armies that opened on 4 October in the Central Club of the People's Army in Sofia.

Lieutenant General Ivan Stefanov, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, delivered a speech on behalf of Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration. [passage omitted]

Lt Gen Ivan Stefanov presented the participants: Col Laszlo Nemeth, chief director of the Zrinyi Publishing House in Hungary, and Lt Col Ferenc Rabaj, its editor in chief; Col Hans-Juergen Uschek, director of the Military Publishing House in the GDR, and Col Dieter Hain, its editor in chief; Col Franciszek Stepniowski, director of the Military Publishing House in the PPR, and Col Stanislaw Jazinski, chief editor; Col Constantin Zamfir, chief of the Military Publishing House in the SR of Romania, and Captain Siret Carp, its chief editor; Major General Boris Pendyur, chief of the Military Publishing

House under the USSR Ministry of Defense, and Major General Vitaliy Kazharskiy, its editor in chief; Col Dr Stanislav Mistr [spelling as published], chief of the "Nase Vojsko" Publishing House in the CSSR, and Col Vit Prikazsky, its editor in chief; Col Georgi Georgiev, chief of the Military Publishing House in Bulgaria, and Col Tren-dafil Vasilev, its editor in chief. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon the guests were received by Lt Gen Ivan Bosev, first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, who greeted them in the name of the leadership of the Main Political Administration and wished them success in their responsible work to improve the combat readiness of the Warsaw Pact armies. An order of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, was read, awarding the "Services to the Bulgarian People's Army" medal to publishing house chiefs Major Gen Boris Pendyur, Col Laszlo Nemeth, Col Hans-Juerger Uschek, Col Franciszek Stepniowski, Col Constantin

Zamfir, and Col Dr Stanislav Mistr for their long years of publishing work that have contributed to the patriotic and international education of soldiers and the development of friendship between the fraternal armies. [passage omitted]

GDR's Kleiber Attends CEMA Session

LD1010130388 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] The 129th session of the CEMA Executive Committee opened in Moscow today. The GDR's permanent CEMA representative, Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, is taking part. The 2-day discussions concern more effective cooperation by the member countries. Focal points include currency, credit, and financial relations. Also on the agenda are direct relations in production, science, and technology as well as cooperation between the CEMA and the EC.

Delegate Predicts Future of MBFR Talks
AU1110215588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
7 Oct p 7

[Report by CTK correspondent Ivan Melicharcik:
"Support for the East-West Dialogue"]

[Text] Vienna—What is already the 46th round of talks on mutual reduction of the numbers of armed forces and armaments in central Europe is being held in the Austrian capital. This represents 15 years of roundtable, diplomatic, military-political talks in Vienna's Hofburg.

In an interview with a CTK correspondent, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Ambassador Ludek Handl, elaborated on the current state and prospects of that forum.

In the first place, I would like to mention that the last composite proposals at the Vienna talks were submitted by the NATO states in December 1985, and by the socialist states in February 1986. Despite the fact that since then the two sides have been negotiating the conclusion of at least a partial agreement, which would constitute the withdrawal of the relatively small contingent of USSR and U.S. ground forces from central Europe, which should then be followed by a 3-year freeze on the equipment and troops of the two countries in that sphere, there has been no success in arriving at an agreement.

The Warsaw Pact states believe that a balanced solution for issues with a material content and verification issues is necessary and possible. However, everything attests to the fact that there will be no success in bridging these differences in the positions of the two sides at this disarmament forum.

It is understandable that the fact that no concrete agreements have been achieved causes dissatisfaction, Ambassador Handl said further. Despite the fact that this forum still serves to support the general dialogue between East and West and is still the sole qualified forum in the sphere of conventional disarmament, it is exhausting its possibilities. The possibility of making

expedient use of the talks for an exchange of expert views on some conceptual questions on the process of conventional disarmament, which have and will have geographically wider and, in terms of time, longer validity, comes to the fore in this situation. The socialist countries are using this phase of the Vienna talks for a detailed examination of initiatives or documents, such as the declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states on the talks on reducing the numbers of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe; the initiative of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states; the plan to limit armaments and strengthen trust in central Europe; and so forth.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation further said that in June 1986, on the initiative of the Warsaw Pact states, a question was put forward about the possibility of discussing and resolving the problem of conventional weapons within the Europe-wide framework from the Atlantic to the Urals.

At the Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee the socialist states formulated a program for reducing the armed forces and conventional equipment in Europe, which they submitted to the European states, the United States, and Canada. On this basis, the consultations of the 16 NATO states and the seven Warsaw Pact states on the mandate of the new negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe within a broader geographical framework, which would be attended by all states of the two groupings, were later opened in Vienna. The work on the mandate is nearing its end with the prospect of opening a new forum to resolve the problem of the conventional potential in Europe. It is logical that the new talks will inevitably also include the central European region, about which we have negotiated with a limited number of NATO members until now. Should there not be success in achieving a fundamental change in the situation at the Vienna talks by then and in concluding at least a partial agreement, it will be necessary to solve the issue of concluding them and passing the relay baton on to a new, broader forum, Ambassador L. Handl said.

Varkonyi Meets With Perez de Cuellar at UN
LD0710094188 Budapest MTI in English
0758 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] New York, October 7 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, and Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations Organization, held talks in New York on international issues and possibilities for intensifying cooperation between Hungary and the U.N.O. Perez de Cuellar praised the role of Hungary in the activity of the world organization. The Hungarian foreign minister spoke appreciatively of the efforts of Javier Perez de Cuellar to settle regional hotbeds of crisis and declared support for his consistent mediatory endeavours serving international peace.

Peter Varkonyi conferred with Argentinian Foreign Minister Dante Caputo, president of the current session of the U.N. General Assembly, about the tasks facing the General Assembly.

Peter Varkonyi, who is attending the session of the U.N. General Assembly, met in New York Senator Gareth Evans, foreign minister of Australia, and Foreign Ministers Mesut Yilmaz of Turkey and Abu Hassan Omar of Malaysia. The discussions covered efforts to develop bilateral relations, particularly economic and trade cooperation, and timely international issues of common concern.

AGERPRES Assesses IMF-IBRD Session
AU0810194888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1415 GMT 8 Oct 88

["Topicality and Realism of Romania's Proposals Regarding the Solutions to the Questions of Foreign Debt and Excessive Rates of Interest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/10/1988—Finding ways and means to help overcoming the serious difficulties extant in the monetary and financial field, which affect to various extents all the states, was one of the basic goals of a reunion recently held in West Berlin, in which participated representatives of the 151 states member in the IMF and IBRD, Romania included. During the reunion the fact was shown that the developing countries not only fail to benefit from the progress of the industrial nations, but also have an economic and financial situation which gets worse with every passing day, particularly owing to factors which evade their control. The foreign debt has virtually become the main obstacle in the path to the development of the debtor

countries. Particularly grave consequences for the economy of the developing countries also result from the means used by the rich countries to curb the strong financial imbalances between them. The participants in the reunion cautioned that protectionism fuels the debt crisis which, in turn, leads to ample perturbation in the world trade and as such gives fresh impetus to all kinds of restrictions. It is against this background that the recent IMF-IBRD reunion occasioned a new confrontation between the creditor and the debtor countries. The high rates of interest and the debt-killing strategy, the participants showed during the debates, led third-world countries to ask, under very hard circumstances, for new credit in order to pay just the interest on the old loans, which provided profits to the creditors at the cost of exhausting the debtors, which have come to pay for the service of the debt more than they receive from other states.

Thus, the debates of the IMF-IBRD session have proved to the full the realism of the considerations and proposals made by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu regarding solutions to the foreign-debt and excessive rates of interest issue. In Romania's views, as reasserted by the Romanian representative at the recent IMF-IBRD session, these problems can only be solved through a global approach taking account of the interests of the developing countries, by giving up the old policy of passing all the difficulties to the poor. To this end President Nicolae Ceausescu suggested the calling of an international conference under the United Nations. At the same time Romania forwarded the idea that a UN special commission should be created to work out proposals and prepare best the international conference.

Romania opines that these proposals must consider a complete write off of the poorest countries' foreign debt, a considerable cut in the debt of the other developing nations, the setting of maximal limits for the rates of interest and agreeing upon a ceiling for the annual payments on the account of the debt. Special attention must be paid also to eliminating the protectionist and discriminatory practices from the world trade, to the renunciation of embargoes and economic restrictions triggered by political reasons, providing the access of all the countries to the gains of contemporary science and technology.

The implementation of such proposals is a need of first degree for halting the worsening of the economic and financial situation of the developing nations, to set in genuine collaboration between the rich countries and the poor ones, which should open real prospects to the process of eradicating underdevelopment and setting in a new international economic order called to secure progress to all the states.

Albanians Hold Anti-Yugoslav Demonstrations

450 Gather in Zurich

AU0610082088 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 88 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Anti-Yugoslav Demonstrations of Albanians in Zurich"]

[Text] Zurich, 1 Oct—A group of about 450 Albanian separatists and nationalists demonstrated today in the streets of Zurich, shouting anti-Yugoslav slogans and distributing leaflets.

The demonstrators, who had arrived in Zurich from other places in Switzerland and neighboring countries, gathered at about 1000 in one of the city's squares and then moved off in an organized way toward the consulate general building which was about two kilometers away. The demonstrators, who included quite a few women and children, carried Albanian flags and black and red banners with the usual anti-Yugoslav slogans and demands written on them.

Speakers addressed the protesters outside the consulate building for almost 2 hours and were frequently interrupted by shouts and the chanting of "Kosovo—republic." As well as attacks on the Yugoslav leadership for their alleged discriminatory and assimilation policy against members of the Albanian nationality, threats were heard against officials of the Yugoslav consulate in Zurich.

Today's demonstration was organized by the so-called People's Movement for the Republic of Kosovo with the approval of the Swiss authorities. This was the fifth anti-Yugoslav demonstration in Switzerland this year.

Protest Held in Bern

LD0810195388 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1743 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Bern, October 8 (TANJUG)—A group of around 500 Albanian separatists and nationalists today demonstrated in the streets of Bern and in the direct vicinity of the Yugoslav Embassy. [Berne International Service in English at 1000 GMT on Oct 9 reports there were "up to 1000 demonstrators"] They were joined by Albanian nationalists and separatists from other, mostly West European countries.

During the demonstrations which lasted over four hours, demands were made for the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which is a part of the republic of Serbia, to be proclaimed a republic. As on many previous occasions here in Switzerland, the demonstrators carried Albanian flags and large banners with anti-Yugoslav slogans.

The demonstrators insisted on entering the Yugoslav Embassy in order to hand in a petition, but were denied entry by the police.

The demonstrations were organized by the so-called People's Movement for the Republic of Kosovo.

Competent city authorities in Bern permitted the holding of the demonstrations. These are the second anti-Yugoslav demonstrations by Albanian chauvinists and separatists to be held in the capital of Switzerland this year.

Trade Protocol With DPRK Signed

AU0710123688 Tirana ATA in English
0950 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Tirana, October 7 (ATA)—The protocol on goods exchanges and payments between the government of the PSR of Albania and the government of the DPR of Korea for 1989 was signed in Tirana on October 6.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by the vice-minister of foreign trade Altin Ylli and for the Korean side by the vice-minister of foreign trade Song Hui-chol.

The signing ceremony was attended also by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, and other comrades. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the DPR of Korea to the PSR of Albania, Pak Yong-si.

According to the protocol, the PSR of Albania will export to the DPR of Korea chromium ore, copper wires, confections, blankets etc., and will import from it sheet irons, steels, rice, zinc etc.

Malile Returns Home From New York

AU1010195788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs, who took part in the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, returned home today.

French Deputy Visits, Meets Cultural Officials

AU1110194888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] The French deputy Xavier Deniau paid a visit to our country recently at the invitation of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries.

During his stay, our French guest visited educational and cultural centers in the towns of Kruje, Durres, Berat, Vlore, and Sarande. He also attended some performances at the National Folklore Festival in Gjirokaster. The French deputy Deniau met separately various personalities of our country. He met the deputy Dritero

Agolli, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee for Culture and the Arts; and Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations. Views were exchanged at these meetings on the development of bilateral relations.

Seminar Examines Soviet Policy, Kosovo Issue
AU1110183488 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
5 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[ATA report: "Problems of Foreign Policy and of Current World Developments in the Light of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Teachings"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the party and our people, the Institute for the Study of International Relations organized a seminar yesterday morning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the topic of "Problems of Foreign Policy and of Current World Developments in the Light of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Teachings."

Working people and officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ministries, and various educational, cultural, and academic institutions of the capital took part.

Also present were Comrade Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and AWP Central Committee secretary; Comrade Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and other comrades.

The seminar was opened by Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations.

Nine lectures were delivered.

Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, delivered a lecture entitled "Comrade Enver Hoxha, Founder and Drafter of the New Albanian Diplomacy." [passage omitted]

Harillaq Kekezi, worker at the Institute for the Study of International Relations, in his talk entitled "The Criticism of the Foreign Policy of Modern Soviet Revisionism in the Light of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Teachings," stressed that the same platform of expansionism and hegemony, as described by Comrade Enver, lies at the foundation of Soviet foreign policy today, but that certain domestic and foreign circumstances and factors have forced the Gorbachev team to devise a "fresh political mentality" for the world, and to formulate new concepts and doctrines, in order to disguise their strategic aims and pave the way for new interpretations of political tactics in the field of international relations. [passage omitted]

The lecture prepared by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, entitled "Good-Neighborliness in the Theory and Practice of Our Country's International Relations," stressed that the policy of good-neighborliness of the new Albanian state that arose during the National Liberation War and was consolidated after the triumph of the people's revolution was not constructed in a vacuum. The party and Comrade Enver relied upon the Albanian people's best and richest historical and traditional ties with other Balkan peoples and gave these traditions new content and fresh impetus on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

"Kosovo and Its Problems in the Achievement of Comrade Enver Hoxha" was the title of the lecture of Vladimir Prela, who stressed that a consideration of the national question in general and of Kosovo in particular assumed a special place in the rich and comprehensive legacy of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Comrade Enver Hoxha defended national interests with ardent patriotism, dedication, and self-sacrifice, and the problem of the situation, fate, and future of the Albanian population living on its own territories in Yugoslavia was always at the center of his attention. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov Receives USSR Defense Minister Yazov
AU1110134788 Sofia BTA in English
1302 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Army General Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and USSR's minister of defence, and the officials accompanying him, who are on an official friendly visit to this country.

They discussed questions of the development and strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between the Armed Forces of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the conditions of the restructuring underway in the two countries. The two sides reiterated the readiness of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union to continue to work actively for deepening of the positive tendencies in international relations, for peace, detente and disarmament.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 11 October carries a shorter report on the meeting between Todor Zhivkov and Army General Dmitriy Yazov, and adds: "The meeting was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and (name indistinct), USSR charge d'affaires in Bulgaria."]

Zhivkov Receives Pact Forces' New Representative
AU0710123588 Sofia BTA in English
1135 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received the newly appointed representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member States with the Bulgarian People's Army, Colonel General Ivan Gashkov.

The meeting was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defence, and Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, former representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states with the Bulgarian Army.

Mozambique Premier Begins Official Visit
AU1010152488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
0400 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Mario Machungo, member of the Politburo of the Frelimo Party Central Committee and Mozambican premier, arrived on an official and friendly visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Starts Talks With Atanasov
AU1010200588 Sofia BTA in English
1848 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, September 10 (BTA)—The opportunities for broadening of the Bulgaro-Mozambican cooperation were the chief topic of the talks held here today between Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and Mr. Mario de Graca Machungo, prime minister of Mozambique.

They stressed that a mighty impetus to the bilateral relations was given by the agreements between Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, reached at their meeting in 1987, in Bulgaria. A sound basis for the constant development of the relations between Bulgaria and Mozambique is the agreement for friendship and cooperation signed ten years ago. The two countries maintain good political contacts through the exchange of visits of party and state leaders, of delegations of the BCP and the Frelimo Party, of representatives of public organizations.

The two sides are on the opinion that on the basis of the hitherto experience in the sphere of economy there exist conditions for more efficient cooperation by searching new forms and approaches. They stressed the need of outlining profitable for the two countries spheres for joint activity and of orientation toward cooperated production. [sentence as received]

The leaders of the two governments ascertained that on the main international issues the positions of Bulgaria and Mozambique are similar or coincide.

Dines With Atanasov
AU1010205788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2000 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] On 10 October at the Lozenets residence Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave an official dinner in honor of Mario de Graca Machungo, member of the Politburo of the Frelimo Party Central Committee and Mozambican premier. The dinner, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Grigor Stoichkov and Dimitur Stanishev, associates of the BCP Central Committee, high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, chairmen of associations, and the officials accompanying the distinguished guest. The two governmental leaders read toast speeches.

Received by Zhivkov
AU1110141888 Sofia BTA in English
1344 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council received today Mr. Mario de Graca Machungo, member of the Politburo of the Central

Committee of the Frelimo Party and prime minister of Mozambique, who handed him a message by the President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Frelimo Party.

Mr. Mario de Graca Machungo informed on the situation in Mozambique and the fulfillment of the programme for the country's economic restoration.

The Bulgarian party and state leader expressed his support of the line of the Frelimo Party for the development of Mozambique and the establishment of peace and security in the region.

The two sides expressed their countries' readiness to raise to a new level Bulgaro-Mozambican relations and expand economic cooperation by adding new, modern forms, which guarantee a lasting and mutual interest of the partners.

Topical international issues were also discussed at the meeting. ref: Zhivkov REceives Mozambique

Meets Filipov, Stanishev

AU1210092588 Sofia BTA in English
2327 GMT 11 Oct 88

["Bulgaria—Mozambique: Promoting Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—Mr. Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo, and Mr. Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, today had a meeting with Mr. Mario de Graca Machungo, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CC of the Frelimo Party and prime minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The two sides discussed the further promotion of the cooperation between the BCP and the Frelimo Party and underlined the necessity of finding more effective forms for its advancement based on the new conditions existing in the two countries.

Foreign Minister Mladenov Returns From New York
AU0810210788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2000 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Today Foreign Minister Mladenov returned from New York, where he took part in the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.

Yordanov Receives Austrian Minister Blecha
AU0810210688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2000 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Today Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science, and education, received Karl Blecha, federal minister of the interior of Austria and chairman of the Austrian-Bulgarian Friendship Society, who holds an honorary doctorate from Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University.

The guest was visiting Bulgaria in connection with the centennial of the oldest Bulgarian academic establishment.

Yotov Meets PCI's Occhetto in Rome

AU1010201188 Sofia BTA in English
1852 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Rome, October 10 (BTA corr.)—A delegation of the BCP headed by Mr. Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, completed its visit here. It visited Italy at the invitation of the CC of the Italian Communist Party (PCI).

Today the Bulgarian party delegation was received by Mr. Achille Occhetto, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party. The two sides discussed questions of the cooperation between the two parties and mutual readiness was expressed for its future strengthening and broadening. Opinions on the contemporary processes in Europe and in the world were exchanged.

During its stay in Italy the delegation of the BCP had meetings with members of the PCI leadership, as well as with the leaderships of the local federations of the party in Perugia and Naples.

Lukanov Departs for CEMA Session in Moscow

AU0810210588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2030 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee and of the Bulgarian section of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Soviet Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, left today for Moscow to take part in the 129th session of the CEMA Executive Committee and the 32d session of the Intergovernmental Commission.

Turkey Criticized for Handling of Athlete

AU0810195088 Sofia BTA in English
1311 GMT 8 Oct 88

["Sports or Politics?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—Under this heading, today's NARODEN SPORT newspaper carries an editorial which reads:

"The Turkish mass media have been giving prominent display to the success of Naum Shalamanov at the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul. This is natural and quite understandable, all the more so in that Turkey has not won a gold Olympic medal in the last twenty years. What is odd in this case is that the emphasis is laid not that much on the sports aspect, but what is said and written is rather calculated for some political effect relating to Bulgaria," the newspaper writes.

The editorial recalls further on that following the weight-lifting world cup in Australia in 1986, Naum Shalamanov defected from Bulgaria and left for Turkey, where he lives now. This called in question his participation in the Olympics—a cherished hope for every great athlete—as, under the "Olympic Charter", such a competitor may not participate in the Olympic games to represent his new country until three years after his naturalisation. The period following naturalisation may be reduced or even cancelled with the agreement of the National Olympic Committee of the country to which the athlete originally belonged.

"Had the Bulgarian Weight-Lifting Federation refused its consent," the newspaper writes, "Naum Shalamanov would have been barred from the Seoul Olympics. However, the Bulgarian Olympic Committee and the Bulgarian Weight-Lifting Federation considered the request of the Turkish Olympic Committee and of the Turkish Weight-Lifting Federation and gave their consent in the name of sports and the Olympic ideals, for the sake of the success of this talented trainee of the Bulgarian weight-lifting school. Moreover, if Shalamanov had not gone to the Olympics, this would have adversely affected his situation in Turkey, too."

"Naturally, the arrangements had to be formalized, and the two federations agreed on the athlete's transfer," notes NARODEN SPORT, and recalls that hundreds of athletes in the world, including dozens of Bulgarian competitors, play in foreign teams for a fee. "The Turkish Weight-Lifting Federation paid 1,075,000 U.S. dollars, a sum which indemnifies Bulgaria for only part of the expenses incurred and the efforts put into discovering and training Naum Shalamanov and into promoting his advance as a world-class sportsman."

"Given this state of affairs, it would be normal to expect that Naum Shalamanov and the Turkish sports community would be grateful for the gesture and would not yield to political intrigues," the newspaper emphasizes. "But it seems that the deliberate cash rewards have turned the athlete's head, and in order to justify the 'confidence' of his generous sponsors, N. Shalamanov has started showering abuse on Bulgaria, the country which made everything possible so that he could reach the pinnacle of sportsmanship and climb the Olympic victory stand, too."

In this connection NARODEN SPORT quotes Mr Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil, one-time foreign minister of Turkey, as having told the Turkish GUNES newspaper: "If he weren't discovered before, how would he have become world-famous? Who knows how many 'Naims' are now languishing unnoticed in this country. They depart from this life undiscovered as rural shepherds in the stubble-fields."

"The words of the well-known Turkish political figure hardly need any comment," NARODEN SPORT emphasizes. "Certain political circles in Turkey are obviously taking advantage of Naum Shalamanov's modest intellectual powers and inexperience to manipulate him in a direction desirable to them for launching an anti-Bulgarian campaign. Thus, the great athlete is reduced to a mere stooge."

In conclusion, the editorial reads: "The right thing to do would have been for Bulgaria's good-will gesture to be reciprocated by good will. This is required not just by sportsmanship but also by common decency. This is the only basis on which sports cooperation can be pursued. The odd show staged now by some dishonourable people in Turkey defies all international standards and morals. This is hardly in the best interest of the athlete Naum Shalamanov and of sports in Turkey as well. It runs contrary to the spirit of our time and does not help the promotion of good-neighbourliness and cooperation between our neighbouring countries."

Zhivkov Advocates More Health Care Facilities
AU1010195988 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 10 Oct 88

["For the Improvement of Health Care Services in Sofia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)—Politburo of the CC of the BCP discussed the proposal of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP for the solution of some urgent problems of medical services in the capital. Over the last years the material and technical basis of the city health care did not correspond to the needs of the population. That is felt particularly as regards the bed deficiency in hospitals. The problem increases by the fact that citizens from all over the country are treated in the hospitals of the capital. It is not going to be solved if the building of new hospitals in the next 5 or 10 years is relied upon.

Bearing in mind the proposals, made by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, Politburo of the CC of the BCP considers expedient to give to the city administration and the Ministry of Public Health and Social Cares a number of buildings which, after a prompt reconstruction can be turned into hospitals and polyclinics. It is proposed that the trade union school would turn into a child city hospital. Other administrative buildings, as well as some of these, presently under construction are to be given to

the Institute for First Aid "Pirogov", to the City Hospital for Infectious Diseases and to other hospitals which need a larger basis. The residence of Vanya is also proposed to be given to the municipal community to be used by the population.

Politburo of the CC of BCP recommends that the Municipal Council and the Ministry of Public Health and Social Cares would carry out prompt design and reconstruction of the buildings, offered for the needs of medical care, and the Council of Ministers would adopt a program for accelerated construction of new hospitals in Sofia by the year 1993.

Atanasov Criticizes Certain Managerial Attitudes
AU1210092688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] This afternoon the Council of Ministers held a conference to discuss the fulfillment of the plan for the country's scientific-technical and socioeconomic development in the first 9 months of 1988 and the tasks for the plan fulfillment in 1989.

Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, summed up the results achieved during the period under review, pointing out that the slowing down in the rates of production observed during the months of July and August has been overcome. Real prerequisites exist for implementing the tasks of 1988.

A considerable increase was achieved in regard to several indexes compared with the same period of 1987. Industrial production increased more than 6 percent. Expenditures were reduced by 2.5 points [tochki] compared to the same period in 1987. Social labor productivity has considerably increased, and a favorable ratio between this rate of increase and the increase in the workers'

wages has been established. The plan for the majority of natural indexes is being fulfilled; however, considerable problems are emerging in connection with some of them, despite their relatively low share in the plan. This is the case with metals, [word indistinct], coal, chemical fertilizers, [words indistinct], and products of the machine building and electronic industries. The situation with respect to construction materials is similar. The situation in the growing sector of agriculture is complicated as well. Failure to fulfill the plan in the case of certain goods creates great difficulties for the country's production balances.

The situation concerning the supply of the domestic market with basic consumer goods and services is unsatisfactory, as well.

Shortages of goods still have not been overcome, and the majority of economic trusts and enterprises are underestimating this problem.

One of the basic conclusions drawn at the aforementioned conference was that the majority of economic organizations and enterprises have failed to become true commodity producers and are not really aware of the situation on the market.

This also explains why many of them, in compiling the plan for 1989, are submitting indexes which are lower than those expected to be fulfilled in 1988.

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, severely criticized the consumer-like attitudes of those managers and collectives who are still devoting most of their efforts and energies to reducing the obligations they have been assigned by the plan, and for evading their great responsibility for qualitative changes in the organization of production. He stressed the need for the strictest discipline and for personal responsibility for every task and unfulfilled obligation.

Further Reportage on Governmental Changes

CSSR Government Resigns

LD1110162088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, premier of the Czechoslovak SR, announced his resignation in a letter dated 10 October and addressed to President Gustav Husak. In a letter today, the federal government told President Gustav Husak that it has decided to resign and submitted its resignation.

Gustav Husak thanked them for the work they have carried out, and accepted the resignation of the federal premier and the whole of the government.

At the same time, he entrusted the government with the role of carrying out its duties on an interim basis until a new government is appointed.

Strougal, Colotka Resignations

LD1110145188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] The 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee is continuing today with a discussion on the introductory speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and on the report of the party Central Committee Presidium.

The press commission of the 10th session today issued the full texts of the letters in which Comrades Lubomir Strougal and Peter Colotka requested to be released from their duties.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal writes:

Esteemed comrades. I have held the office of federal premier for almost 19 years. This month, October 1988, I will be 64 years of age. I ask to be released from the post of federal premier and from the post of member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. I request, Comrade Strougal writes, that it be made possible for me to retire.

Comrade Peter Colotka says in his letter:

Esteemed Comrade General Secretary: Since April 1969 I have held the offices of member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and deputy federal premier, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier. In these offices I have tried to work in such a way so as not to disappoint the trust of the party and of our socialist society. As I am aware of the exacting nature of the tasks ahead of us and in the interest of having a comrade of more suitable age in the above-mentioned posts, I address my request through you to the competent party and state bodies to be released from

the posts of member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, Slovak premier, and deputy federal premier.

Knotek Appointed Slovak Premier

LD1210103288 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
0900 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] In accordance with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, the new members of the Slovak SR Government were sworn in at Bratislava Castle today. Correspondent Ladislav Balko reports from Federation Hall:

[Balko] According to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, the Slovak National Council Presidium today accepted the resignation of Peter Colotka, Slovak premier; Dusan Miklanek, minister of construction and the building industry; and Eva Tokolova, minister of health and social affairs.

On the proposal of the Slovak SR National Front Central Committee Presidium, the Slovak National Council Presidium at the same time appointed Ivan Knotek Slovak premier. The Presidium of the Slovak National Council appointed Ivan Steis a minister of the government and entrusted him with the direction [riadenie] of the Construction and Building Industry Ministry. Anton Molnar was appointed a minister and entrusted with the direction of the Health and Social Affairs Ministry.

In a letter to Comrade Peter Colotka, Comrade Viliam Salgovic expressed appreciation for his activity and work in the office of Slovak premier.

After the meeting ended, the newly appointed Slovak premier and the two ministers took the oath required by the Constitution in the presence of the Slovak National Council chairman. Present were Comrades Ignac Janak, Miroslav Hruskovic, other members of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, deputy chairmen and the ministers of the Slovak SR Government, members of the Slovak National Council Presidium, and others.

Comrade Salgovic congratulated the new members of the Slovak SR Government on their responsible and exacting offices to which the Slovak National Council appointed them with full confidence. He wished them many successes in accomplishing the tasks which await them in the Slovak SR, in particular in implementing the process of comprehensive restructuring in economic and social life.

At the same time, he thanked the outgoing members of the Slovak SR Government for their efforts in carrying out their duties.

Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek gave a speech in which on behalf of the newly appointed members of the government, he expressed thanks to the Slovak National Council Presidium for its trust.

After the gala swearing-in ceremony, the representatives of political and public life and the new members of the Slovak SR Government held a cordial discussion.

Pitra Named Czech Premier

LD1210110388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Report by correspondent Vaclav Klement from the Czech National Council—live or recorded]

[Text] The Czech National Council Presidium met this morning at a session chaired by Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czech National Council chairman.

In accordance with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, it accepted the resignation of Czech Premier Ladislav Adamec, and thanked him for his work. It also accepted the resignations of Bohumil Urban, first deputy Premier and chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development; Karel Julis, minister of education, youth, and physical training; Frantisek Kalina, minister of forestry, water management, and the wood processing industry; and Vladimir Simek, minister without portfolio.

Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, then advanced the proposal made by the CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czech SR to appoint Frantisek Pitra Czech premier. The Presidium unanimously approved this proposal.

In the next part of the session Frantisek Pitra proposed the appointment of new members of the Czech SR Government and the Czech National Council Presidium. In accordance with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation the following were appointed:

Miroslav Toman, first deputy premier of the Czech SR and Chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development; Jana Synkova, minister of education, youth, and physical training; Jaroslav Bocek, minister of forestry, water management, and the wood processing industry; and Erich Sykora, minister without portfolio.

Central Committee Announces Changes

LD1110174488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee has discussed cadre proposals and made a decision on them in a secret ballot.

The CPCZ Central Committee released Comrade Lubomir Strougal from his post as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium;

it released Comrade Peter Colotka from his post as member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium;

it elected Comrade Frantisek Pitra as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and released him from his post as secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat;

it elected Comrade Miroslav Stepan as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and released him from his post as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat;

it elected Comrade Ivan Knotek as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and approved a motion that he be released from his post as secretary of the CPSL Central Committee;

it elected Comrade Karel Urbanek as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium;

it elected Comrade Miroslav Zavadil as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium;

it elected Comrade Josef Mevald as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, and approved a motion that he be released from his post as leading secretary of the West Bohemian Regional Party Committee.

It elected Comrade Rudolf Rohlicek as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat;

It approved the proposal to elect Comrade Ondrej Saling as secretary of the CPSL Central Committee and a proposal to release him from the office of chief secretary of the West Slovak Regional CPSL Committee;

It approved the proposal to elect Comrade Ondrej Kvaka as head secretary of the West Slovak Regional Office of the CPSL;

It approved the proposal to elect Comrade Jaroslav Kopacek as chief secretary of West Bohemian Regional Party Committee.

The Central Committee of the CPCZ elected the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR. Its members are: Vaclav Bezel, Zdenek Horcik, Marie Hutterova, Josef Kempny, Jaroslav Kopacek, Otto Liska, Josef Mevald, Miroslava Namcova, Pavel Pilny, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Slavik, Vaclav Sipek, Vaclav Spejra, Zdenka Tesarova, Karel Urbanek, and Vaclav Vaclavik.

It elected Comrade Karel Urbanek as chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR; Comrade Josef Mevald as secretary of the Committee, and Comrade Marie Hutterova as secretary of the Committee.

The CPCZ Central Committee elected chairman of the standing commissions of the CPCZ Central Committee:

of the Economic Commission, Comrade Jozef Lenart;

of the Ideological Commission, Comrade Jan Fojtik;

of the Youth Commission, Comrade Ignac Janak;

of the Commission for the Issues of Internal Life of the party, Comrade Karel Hoffmann;

of the Commission for the Creation and Protection of the Environment, Comrade Jozef Lenart;

of the Commission for Foreign Relations, Comrade Vasil Bilak;

of the Commission for the Political System, Comrade Karel Urbanek;

of the Legal Commission, Comrade Alois Indra;

of the Social Policy Commission, Comrade Miroslav Zavadil;

of the Science and Technology Commission, Comrade Frantisek Hanus;

of the Education Commission, Comrade Jan Fojtik;

of the Culture and Arts Commission, Comrade Miroslav Stepan.

It elected members of the standing commissions of the CPCZ Central Committee.

It entrusted Comrade Miroslav Zajic to chair the Agricultural and Food Commission.

The CPCZ Central Committee approved the composition of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Working Out the Program of the CPCZ with Comrade Milos Jakes in its chair.

It also approved the composition of the Party Central Committee Commission for the Amendment of the CPCZ Statutes with Comrade Karel Hoffmann in its chair.

The CPCZ Central Committee discussed the relevant proposals for changes in the governments of the CSSR, of the Czech SR, and of the Slovak SR and in the bodies of the National Front. It also assessed the proposal on the composition of the Commission of the CPCZ and of the National Front of the CSSR For the Preparation of New CSSR Constitution.

New Officeholders Sworn In

LD1210123188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1100 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] As we have already informed you the Czech National Council Presidium approved unanimously this morning the proposals for the appointment of the new premier and members of the Czech SR Government. In the morning they were also sworn in, as prescribed by the Constitution. Vaclav Klement reports:

[Klement] The Old Hall of the Prague Castle, next to Vladislav Hall, is a witness to an important event. The members of the Czech National Council Presidium are here to witness the gala swearing in ceremony of the new members of the Czech Socialist Republic Government.

Comrade Josef Kempny addressed those present and informed them about the results of the morning session of the Czech National Council Presidium. He congratulated the new members of the government on their appointment into high state offices and wished them many successes in their responsible work for the development of our homeland.

Milan Vondruska, Czech National Council deputy chairman, then read out the oath prescribed by the Constitution.

The first person to take the oath and receive the letter of appointment was Frantisek Pitra, new Czech premier. Miroslav Toman, first deputy premier and chairman of the Czech Planning and Scientific-technological Development Commission, was then sworn in.

Then Jana Synkova, minister of education, youth and physical training; Jaroslav Bocek, minister of forestry, water management and wood processing; and Erich Sykora, minister of Czech SR Government, signed the oath.

After the ceremony, Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra asked to speak. He thanked those present for their trust and said he is fully aware of the responsibility he has taken over for the further all-round development of our socialist republic. The government will approach the fulfillment of its tasks with a high degree of exactingness and responsibility, with an effort to contribute to the implementation of the current revolutionary changes.

Husak Appoints New Government

LD1210144188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Today President of the Republic Gustav Husak appointed the new CSSR Government in accordance with Article 61 of the Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovak Federation and on the recommendation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the National Front Central Committee Presidium. Here is the composition of the federal government:

Ladislav Adamec, premier;

Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical, and Investment Development;

Bohumil Urban, first deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission;

Jaromir Obzina, deputy premier;

Karel Julis, deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, machine building, and electrical engineering;

Frantisek Pitra, deputy premier;

Ivan Knotek, deputy premier;

Matej Lucan, deputy premier;

Jaromir Johanes, minister of foreign affairs;

Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense;

Frantisek Kincl, minister of interior;

Jan Stejskal, minister of finance;

Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade;

Miloslav Boda, minister of labor and social affairs;

Antonin Krunikl, minister of fuel and power;

Jaromir Algayer, minister of agriculture and food;

Frantisek Podlena, minister of transport and communications;

Jaromir Zak, minister in charge of the Federal Price Office;

Frantisek Ondrich, minister and chairman of the Committee of People's Control of the CSSR;

Marian Calfa, minister.

Fojtik Gives Restructuring Report to Presidium
LD1110195888 Prague CTK in English
1853 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CTK)—Today, we have entered a new stage, a stage of restructuring all spheres of the life of society, and with regard to this we must develop the ideological work, to fill it with more creativeness, concreteness, sense of reality and more boldness in seeking replies to questions of the present and in overcoming ideas, habits and approaches standing in the way of our advance", Jan Fojtik said here Monday.

Delivering a report of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium, Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, said that "the reconstruction we have embarked on opens up broad possibilities for the offensive of the ideological front, informal development of the political and educational activity of the party, the national front organizations, organs of people's power and for its links with the political organizational work and guidance at all levels. This is natural. The reconstruction of the individual social spheres cannot be carried out without new thinking of people, without overcoming various stereotypes and without the understanding of new needs and demands of development".

Jan Fojtik further recalled that the Czechoslovak Communist Party finds precious stimuli, support and encouragement in the Leninist course pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and said that the 19th All-Union Conference of the Soviet Communist Party met with great interest in Czechoslovakia and its informal working atmosphere was welcomed both by the party and the public.

As indicated by polls, the overwhelming majority of people link restructuring to the need to eliminate at last the relative high degree of bad economy and disorders in the national economy. They are not worried only by things around them, but also think of the future of Czechoslovakia and socialism. They have welcomed the conclusions of the seventh session of the party Central Committee as proof that despite the differences and peculiarities in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union the party leadership wants to solve problems equally consistently by speeding up socio-economic development on the basis of intensification and democratization of society, restructuring of the economic mechanism and the entire system of management. People want no halfheartedness and demand consistent elimination of bureaucratic methods of management and application of the Leninist principle of open policy and broad information.

"It is necessary at this time, too, to counter the idea that the fundamental changes ahead of us can be carried out in a short period and that adoption of several laws and decisions in the centre are sufficient to do the job. Such an idea, if spread, would lead to demobilization and in the long run strengthen bureaucratic methods of orders and faith in the omnipotence of the centre. Disillusion would come sooner or later," Jan Fojtik said.

Pointing out the extraordinary significance of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, Jan Fojtik said "We approach the present economic reform, having learnt a lesson from our past and from the experiences of other socialist countries. We know that its successful realization depends on broad democratization along with the extension of the leading role of the party, correct application of the Leninist concept of the relationship between politics and economics, a consistent adherence

to the principle of democratic centralism, a well-considered link of the plan and the market, respect for the law of value and all objectively effective economic laws, for the real interests of society, collectives and individuals, territorial entities and places".

He added that the fundamental directions in carrying out the economic reform are based on this knowledge. If enterprises are to pass over a complete cost accounting system, also a new type of central management and planning must be established, Jan Fojtik said.

He went on to say that "claims are often heard today that we allegedly want to limit restructuring to the most necessary changes in the economy, that we do not intend to expand scope for democracy, are a malicious but well-considered slander. These claims quite ignore that our concept of democracy has nothing in common with the ideas of those who look forward to some liberalization, chaos and confusion. We experienced such "democracy" and we have not the least reason to return to it. We are not engaged in restructuring in order to be liked by our opponents and critics. We bear in mind, and this will determine our every future step, the interest of society, the people, of socialism. Initiative of the people can bring fruit only wherever conscious discipline and order prevail".

Jan Fojtik said that social policy undoubtedly ranks among the most convincing arguments proving the advantages of socialism. By the building of socialism the social status of working man changed. Fundamentally, abysmal class and social differences, which set whole social strata against one another, permanently caused nationality disputes, were a source of excessive luxury and superiority on one side, and poverty and humiliation on the other, vanished. All this belongs to the past in this country, Jan Fojtik said.

He further said that questions of further development of socialist democracy are in the forefront of attention of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

"We realize that also here we cannot stop, it is necessary to improve the political system in our society, especially the mechanism of its functioning, to rid it of bureaucratic rust, to make it more flexible and effective. We proceed from the Leninist ideas concerning the socialist state, people's administration and control of socialist legality. We put emphasis on fully appreciating the role of the working class, of the working people as the sovereign subject of power. In this we see the basis of socialist autonomy, which is gradually gaining shape through the integration of the broad strata of the people in political life. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Jan Fojtik went on to say that national committees are the basic link in the development of self-rule and the democratization of the political system, the real executors of the will of the people of villages and towns. The

democratic character of state power is apparent especially in their activity the further development of which is thus greatly important. Equally is their coming closer to people and involving them in decision-making on all present and future questions concerning life in villages and towns, he said and stressed the need for decisions to be made primarily by elected bodies.

As regards the National Front, it is being given broader scope to increase the role of its organizations in the creation, realization and control of the state's policy. The structure of the National Front provides big opportunities for rich activity of social organizations. The National Front makes possible the development of various civil and social activities which are an expression of efforts to participate in the further construction of socialism. "In this respect, we regard the National Front as an open system - open to all activities except those at variance with our constitution and our laws," Jan Fojtik stressed.

Speaking of the crucial significance of the Marxist-Leninist settlement of the nationality question for the stability of the socialist system, Jan Fojtik stated that the fact that relations of understanding and cooperation prevail between the nations and nationalities in Czechoslovakia, and that they are conscious of their co-responsibility for the development of the homeland, is one of the biggest achievements of socialism.

"We know it was not easy to solve this question and we are aware of the explosive and destabilizing nature that nationality problems may acquire if they are ignored. After all, there is not a single important issue that we solve, which would not have its nationality aspect. Forces are still at work, which pose a certain potential danger to the unity of the nations and nationalities of our country. Nationalist prejudices of different kinds are deeply rooted, they may be easily revived and kindled by imprudent steps. It is one of our primary duties to protect what we have gained, to act in all spheres of life of our state united in a federation so as to strengthen the relations between our nations and nationalities. The line we proceed from is clear - it is respect for the national identity and the specificities of development of each nation and nationality together with the strengthening of their unity, of all that links them together. One aspect cannot be isolated from the other. Especially in the nationality policy, no insensitivity and lack of prudence can be allowed".

Jan Fojtik added that "we live in a constitutional state, based on socialist humanism. This awareness must be generally strengthened and accompanied by an effective struggle against all forms of violation of socialist laws".

Jan Fojtik went on to speak about the church policy, appreciating that "the overwhelming majority of believers and clergymen play an active role in the construction of socialism and have a positive or loyal attitude to our

social system. Therefore, efforts of some circles to separate believers from other citizens, to make them some sort of a social force a priori alien or even hostile to our socialist society, absolutely lack seriousness and are biased."

He described as "nonsensical" assertions spread by enemies that "our state allegedly suppresses religious freedoms and even wants to 'exterminate' religious organizations. Believers in our country are citizens with full rights. Their religious needs can be satisfied in harmony with constitutional laws. Nothing obstructs this or their active participation in the further development of our homeland. Churches are part of the structure of our society and we want to continue developing good relations with them, including the Roman Catholic Church. We regard all of them - there are eighteen in our country - as equal."

"We want normal relations also with the Vatican," Jan Fojtik said and stressed that "this should be the intention of the other side, too. Unfortunately, the Vatican's response to all goodwill steps taken by Czechoslovakia has so far been slow to come and mostly negative. In the recent period, Radio Vatican went as far as starting to glorify the former fascist puppet regime in Slovakia and many of its officials, including the international war criminal [Jozef] Tiso," he said, described [as received] as unprecedented the gross and offensive attack against the Slovak national uprising, and added that "such attitude is in fact a step backwards by decades. Normal relations can rest only on full respect for the fact that Czechoslovakia is a sovereign socialist state with its valid laws. This is also a prerequisite for constructive talks."

The Czechoslovak state will continue its dialogue with all churches which want this continuation and show good will to solve problems. "Relations of deepening confidence will naturally be expressed in corresponding improvement of norms which are being enacted. We are not closing doors to development in any sphere, but the sovereignty of state power... is inseparable and we do not intend to weaken it in any way. The state cannot discard its duty to secure and guarantee the freedom of all and not allow anybody to exercise his rights to the detriment of others. Such is also our understanding of our obligations adopted at international talks and stemming from the final act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We regard as inadmissible all forms of political misuse of churches and religions against socialism. We shall resolutely counter such efforts - together with the overwhelming majority of believers and clergymen."

Speaking about the debate on political pluralism, developed in some socialist countries in recent years, Jan Fojtik said that Czechoslovakia also regards its political system of the National Front and bodies of people's rule as a form of socialist pluralism. "We emphasize: socialism, such as expresses real power of the working people providing broad opportunities for the expression and

satisfaction of the requirements of various collectives and citizens in harmony with the social and nationality composition of the population of our country, and the objectives of the party's policy for the prosperity of the whole nation and each citizen. Who wants from us pluralism according to the idea of bourgeois society wants the impossible - return to capitalism."

In another part of his address, Jan Fojtik said that "our concept of socialist democratization of culture has nothing in common with the loudly proclaimed democracy in the 1960's which was in fact merely a code name for counter-revolutionary activity. At that time, the right-wing minority on the cultural front usurped power over the majority, strove to disorientate and manipulate it. It advocated an apolitical and non-ideological character of culture but itself shamelessly used it in the struggle for its political aims," Jan Fojtik said adding that also today "our class enemies pin their hopes on the democratization of culture and art. They will be the less successful in their disruptive activity the more we develop democracy on a really socialist basis in the interest of the working people."

"The openness of our policy requires high responsibility and qualification of journalists," Jan Fojtik said and added that "We have always laid stress on the journalistic ethic. Today it is one of the priority demands. The mass media must serve the people and not push through ambitions of various groups or individuals, not to speak of policy against the people. It would run counter to the democratization changes in society if people working in mass media should mistake openness for an opportunity to scandalize people, spread unserious reports, support or foment various rumours or fabrications, bring nervousness or tension into society," Jan Fojtik said and stressed that "we must never forget the experience of the year 1968 when mass media were abused against socialism, for manipulation and extensive disorientation of the public."

He stressed the need to start without delay the elaboration of a new law on the press to create relevant legal norms for providing information to the public, not only to protect journalists and individual citizens, but also and in particular the socialist society. "We shall not introduce any forms of censorship. We rely on the responsibility and commitment of cadres working in the information media, and all publishers of newspapers and journals of National Front organizations."

Recalling the 70th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia, Jan Fojtik stated that "the birth of the independent state of Czechs and Slovaks, which is the homeland also for other nationalities, was a significant historical milestone." It is well-known, however, that the twenty years of its existence, which ended with the Munich agreement, was a period of hard class struggle and great tests. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

was the only political party in those days to stand the tests, it led the people in their struggle for a better future and a reliable guarantee of the state existence.

The party thus won broad recognition, it became a real representative of the majority of society. This predetermined the further road—the road of revolutionary changes carried out in the post-war period in specific conditions. We had the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, we could use the suitable international situation, the fact that we were liberated by the Soviet Union, which became the shield protecting our freedom against external counter-revolution. Also the experience of the first country of socialism meant priceless aid for us at that time.

In another part of his speech, Jan Fojtik stressed the most fundamental lesson drawn from the past: the leading role of the Communist Party and its cohesion with the broad popular masses must never be allowed to be weakened under any circumstances in the search for an assertion of new roads of development. Fundamental changes can be carried out only under the leadership of the party which is guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, is a real vanguard of society and relies on the people's confidence.

"In harmony with the line of the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Czechoslovakia will continue devoting prime attention to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and cooperation with the friendly countries. We regard as a reliable basis of this policy the principles of mutual benefit, balance in interests, and shared responsibility for the fate and prestige of socialism in the interest of increasing its role in world development."

He said that the current stage of historical development places the strict demand on the socialist countries: to quicken pace substantially and score a distinct improvement in economy, science and technology.

Jan Fojtik also stressed that the quick progress towards West European integration is "a serious warning for us." This process will give Western Europe after 1992 a qualitatively new economic as well as political and maybe even military structure. "The socialist countries would be incapable of competing with this capacity if they acted individually, in an isolated manner. We attach great importance to socialist economic integration also from this point of view."

"The reality of new thinking and the victory of the principally new policy dependent on it—which recognizes the principle of peaceful co-existence as the universal norm of conduct on the international scene—depend to a great extent on the ability of capitalism to adapt itself to the conditions of a new and just economic order and the conditions of honourable comparison of the intellectual values of the two worlds."

The situation of nuclear confrontation makes imperative a search for new ways and forms of relations between different social systems. The competition between capitalism and socialism can have only peaceful forms. This does not require socialism to give up its principles and ideals, but to find ways of adequate application of these principles in the new situation and different approaches to the struggle for its ideals. Part of this are Czechoslovak proposals, primarily the recommendation to create a zone of confidence on the line dividing Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, Jan Fojtik said.

Central Committee Resolution on Ideological Work
LD1110223388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] We will now inform you about the resolution by the 10th session of the Party Central Committee on topical issues of the party's ideological work under restructuring conditions:

The CPCZ Central Committee discussed the orientation and tasks of ideological work in restructuring the economic mechanism and developing socialist democracy. It evaluated the amount of ideological work required to implement the strategy of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the conclusions of 7th and 9th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, and emphasized that ideological work must help, as effectively as possible, the implementation of social restructuring and make all our citizens understand the meaning and the aims of the current revolutionary process, identify with them, and take an active part in social change. It emphasized the importance of the Leninist course of the CPSU toward revolutionary restructuring and renovation of Soviet society, which was developed further by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The Central Committee critically evaluated ideological work and underlined the necessity to improve it in harmony with the new needs to the current level of demand. For this it is necessary to carry out its restructuring, to link it firmly with life, base it on a creative Marxist-Leninist theoretical background, and create necessary conditions for it—to orientate it toward support of working collectives, of every individual, and to fully apply in it the Leninist principle of open policy and flow of information to the general public. It must be truthful, specific, and matter-of-fact. Through ideological work, respect for the values of socialist society must be fostered: honesty, a sense of truth and justice, responsibility for the family and education of children, patriotism, awareness of solidarity and appurtenance with the forces of social progress and humanism. These attributes are necessary to communicate systematically and purposefully to young people in particular.

In ideological work it is necessary to overcome rigidity, dogmatism, and conservatism and to contribute with this work to the dynamic development of the society; to

arouse irreconcilability with everything that is an obstacle to the all-round application of the creative forces of the working people and that slows down social progress; to help to deepen political democracy; to develop socialist pluralism on the basis of National Front; to elucidate the role of national committees and the National Front; to support the active participation of citizens in administration and management and defend their justified interests.

The Central Committee emphasized that the cardinal task of ideological work is to continue to pay consistent attention to the issues of deepening all-round cooperation, uniting the socialist states, and the developing mutual integration processes. It stressed the growing importance of socialist internationalism. The Central Committee emphasized the importance of aggressive [ofenzivni] struggle to push through the new political thinking in international relations. Ideological work must continuously explain the international situation in the current stage of the fight for the survival of humankind, for the preservation of peace, for social progress, socialism and democracy in the world. It underlines at the same time that the fight against the ideology and propaganda of anticommunism and the depositing of ideologically foreign inimical influences on our working people must not slacken.

The CPCZ Central Committee stated first to party organizations and organs:

You should be guided by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report delivered at the session as a principled orientation for further developing ideological work in the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism and democracy; adopt concrete conclusions and measures for the activity of communists in individual sectors; purposefully strive for the entire propaganda and agitation department to work efficiently to contribute toward the correct understanding of the harmony of aims and tasks of social restructuring with the interests of the people, and to lead them toward active participation in revolutionary changes. A significant task of propaganda and agitation is to make the people understand that economic restructuring is an inevitable condition for the transition of the national economy from extensive to intensive development. [sentence as heard] It is necessary to achieve higher economic growth standards, based on high efficiency and quality, in harmony with political, organizational, and economic work; to orient propaganda and agitation to form the consciousness of socialist managers and responsible citizens; and to aid the development of self-government in enterprises by correctly understanding its role and its relations with the party organization, economic management, and trade unions.

In creating the new economic thinking it is especially important to understand the need for the transition from an administrative to an economic manner of economic management, the role of all forms of social ownership

and individual economic activity, self-government in the production sphere, socialist enterprise, financial autonomy, the role of commodity and monetary relations, markets, and plans. Ideological work must strengthen its influence on increasing enterprises' responsibility to satisfy society's needs and respecting the high quality of work, and must exert its influence so that work is paid for according to merit. It must wage a resolute struggle against egalitarianism and social demagoguery, against demonstrations of petit-bourgeois morality, against a consumer mentality and all forms of parasitism and illegal forms of enrichment, and see to it that discipline and order at all workplaces is strengthened.

Party organizations must ensure a high level of ideological awareness, unity of content, and form of ideological influence, and they must strip it of obsolete methods and implement a differentiated approach. They must dedicate constant attention to the young generation, and strive during its education for deeper cooperation between schools and the family. Social organizations must strengthen their educational influence on young people—especially the Socialist Union of Youth and the leadership of enterprises and factories, cultural and scientific institutions, and the communication media—and create, through joint efforts, corresponding conditions for the purposeful leisure of children and young people in the form of technical, natural historical, and artistic activity, sports, and physical education. The Communists of the mass communication media must see to it that the press, radio, and television efficiently contribute to the correct understanding and consistent implementation of party policy, represent the democratic tribune of public opinion, of everyday open dialogue between the party, the state, and citizens; consistently increase the level of the influence of mass communication media; and improve the quality of their political education and organizational roles. The joint influence of these roles should support and enforce new thinking in society; popularize innovations and positive experiences of restructuring; consistently introduce the adopted conclusions of the document of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium for implementing the Leninist principle of public information; require from journalists a high level of responsibility, competence, and ability to express themselves by means of approachable forms; anchor the legal guarantees of public information in the prepared new press bill; make the mass communications media an even more efficient instrument of constructive criticism and public control; consistently implement the management principle regularly in the communication media, thus contributing toward elucidating the intentions of the party and state policy in the sections they manage; and report responsibly on the results obtained and on the way in which the criticized shortcomings are tackled.

Communists in education must rear young people as truly socialist citizens; must form their world outlook; deepen their relation toward the progressive heritage of

the national history; educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism; lead the young people toward diligence, responsibility, independence, creativity, a longing for new knowledge, a love of nature and its protection, and toward society and respect for the people; and develop their emotional life and sense of beauty.

Communists in the scientific sector must stand in the vanguard of the effort to deepen the quality, purposefulness, and practical utility of scientific knowledge; to democratize science; to create the necessary space for scientific research and to develop fruitful discussions; to support creative personalities and scientific schools; and to strengthen responsibility of all scientific employees for what they are contributing to social development through their work. Communists who lead the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the universities, and other research institutions must see to it that the peak level is achieved, above all, in the branches and questions that are decisive for further developing society. They must also safeguard the more efficient participation of Czechoslovak scientists in international cooperation, and increase their contribution toward solving the tasks of the CEMA comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress up to the year 2000.

Communists working in the art and cultural sectors must implement the participation of art and literature in restructuring, in the development of popular creative forces, and the all-around satisfaction of their cultural needs and interests. They must support art which enriches our society, which offers a truthful picture of the life and the work of the people in their diversity, and which contributes toward implementing revolutionary transformations in our country.

Communists in state institutions, social organizations, the communications media, cultural institutions, and particularly in art associations, must consistently implement in their work socialist, culturally, educationally, and ideologically aesthetic views, and at the same time fight against the spread of bad taste, decaying morals, and negative attitudes toward life. Essentially, one must improve the quality of literary and artistic criticism and oppose the simplification of views on artistic performances. It is important to continue improving conditions for popular participation in the creation of socialist culture, developing the social system of aesthetic education, increasing the role of architecture and urbanism, developing the entire material culture, striving for the humanitarian influence of socialist culture to receive the appropriate social support, resolutely opposing unhealthy commercial trends, and taking proper care of cultural amenities and creating the necessary conditions for their labor collectives.

Jakes Closes Central Committee Session

LD1110215888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] In a winding-up speech today at the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Milos Jakes

stressed that the 10th session of the Party Central Committee had demonstrated the full identity of views of members and candidate members of the party Central Committee, both on the assessment of the recent period, on the further action to be taken in dealing with the tasks of economic and social restructuring, and on improving ideological work. We will concentrate on ideological work, Comrade Milos Jakes said, in the spirit of the constructive implementation of our Marxist-Leninist teaching, on explaining and understanding the meaning, objectives, and methods of restructuring, and on strengthening the awareness of its objective necessity and irreversibility, and its immediate relevance to satisfying the interests and needs of the people. We see the basis of its effectiveness in its close connection with life.

In this context Comrade Jakes stressed that the effectiveness of ideological work in the conditions of restructuring and democratization means that ideological work itself, and its content, forms, and methods must be restructured. He also noted the importance of cooperation with the Soviet Union in analyzing the current stage of development of socialism, and the valuable stimuli which arose from the conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Milos Jakes went on to speak about the important political and organizational measures adopted by the party Central Committee, such as the setting-up of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, the expansion of the number and composition of Central Committee commissions, and the convening of the 18th party congress a year earlier. He also highlighted the significance of the cadre changes and recommendations which the party Central Committee approved, and which relate to the composition of the Presidium, the Secretariat, and secretaries of the party Central Committee, the Federal Government, and the national governments. Their purpose is to contribute to increasing the effectiveness of the work of the party and state ruling bodies. In this connection he thanked the comrades leaving office for their work, and he wished great success in their responsible work for the party and society for those who have been elected to the managing party organs or who have been proposed for high state posts.

Comrade Milos Jakes concluded his speech by stressing that the party is the guarantee of the socialist development of our society and the key to tackling all the tasks of restructuring and democratization and of speeding up socioeconomic development. Communists in particular, he said, must create an atmosphere conducive to a militant approach to mastering the demands placed on us by the current times. The revolutionary history of our party makes this incumbent on us, Comrade Milos Jakes stated in his winding-up speech at the 10th session of the party Central Committee.

Fojtik Holds News Conference on CC Session

LD1210052988 Prague CTK in English
0021 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CTK)—“We want to accelerate the pace of restructuring, of the economic reform, of

democratization of society in Czechoslovakia, to change the style of work, overcome inertia of the extensive way of management", Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik said here today.

At a press conference with foreign jouranalists, he reviewed the results of the 10th Communist Party Central Committee session, which ended today. He stressed that the aim is a consistent and speedy implementation of the conclusions of the 7th party Central Committee session of last December and the 9th Central Committee session held in April. The session which has just ended approved changes in the party leadership and in government bodies. It also approved a proposal to convene the 18th congress of the party in the first half of 1990, i.e. a year ahead of schedule.

Jan Fojtik stressed that the report of the party Central Committee Presidium he delivered at the session, the debate and the opening and closing addresses of General Secretary Milos Jakes clearly confirmed the necessity of developing the restructuring process. The session expressed full support for the foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist states, for the new political thinking in international relations. Developments in Czechoslovakia were significantly influenced by the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU whose conclusions will be used particularly in preparations for the 18th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and in the elaboration of its program.

"We put emphasis on the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in carrying out the restructuring process. The economic reform is aimed at strengthening socialist ownership relations. At the 18th congress we want to reassess some questions and we want to activate the whole party and society in its preparation. This will mean the activation of all sections of the National Front which is a platform of socialist pluralism in Czechoslovakia", Jan Fojtik said.

Answering questions of foreign journalists, Jan Fojtik said that Lubomir Strougal, who asked to be relieved of the post of party Presidium member and federal premier, will be replaced by Ladislav Adamec, so far the premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, Federal Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar is to be replaced by his deputy Frantisek Kinc, First Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes was proposed to replace Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czech Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban is to become first federal deputy premier, and First Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek was elected member of the Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat.

Jan Fojtik stressed that these changes in government bodies are to be discussed at appropriate levels. The new federal government will deliver its program statement in the Federal Assembly at the beginning of November.

U.S. State Department's Whitehead Begins Visit

Views Disarmament With Honecker

LD1110180688 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1611 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received John C. Whitehead, deputy secretary of state of the United States of America, for talks on 11 October.

Erich Honecker informed the U.S. politician about the steps the GDR has undertaken for disarmament, security, and cooperation, and its contribution to the strengthening of the positive trends developing in international politics, which must be stabilized through the continuation of the disarmament process and the deepening of political dialogue. The danger of a nuclear war has not yet been eliminated, and the opponents to detente and disarmament have been intensifying their activities.

The chairman of the State Council expressed the GDR's satisfaction with the progress made in implementing the treaty on the elimination of the intermediate-range nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union and the United States, to which the GDR was also contributing.

The GDR regards the halving of the Soviet and U.S. stock of strategic offensive weapons under strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, the halting of nuclear weapons tests, the banning and destruction of all chemical weapons, as well as the drastic reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals as the next important steps on the path to a more secure peace on the European continent and in the entire world. The GDR wishes to contribute to the establishment of a nuclear- and chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe to reduce military confrontation in Europe and promote cooperation.

John C. Whitehead spoke about the U.S. Government's position on topical international questions. The United States supports the continuation of the process of arms limitation and disarmament, especially with regard to the halving of strategic offensive weapons, the conclusion of a convention for banning chemical weapons, and the resolution of regional conflicts by means of negotiations.

Also during the talks, Erich Honecker and John C. Whitehead discussed questions of relations between the two states. They declared themselves in favor of continuing political dialogue, over and above what divides them, and of further pursuing cooperation in areas of mutual interest.

Those present at the meeting in the Council of State building were: Dr. Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and chief of the

chancery of the chairman of the Council of State; Ambassador Dr. Herbert Barth, director of the United States Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; as well as William Bodde, U.S. special assistant; Nelson Ledsky, adviser to the U.S. National Security Council; and Francis J. Meehan, U.S. ambassador to the GDR.

Discusses Ties With Krolikowski

LD1110191988 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1638 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon Dr Herbert Krolikowski, GDR state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs, met for talks with John C. Whitehead, U.S. assistant secretary of state.

During a lively exchange of views, both men discussed international developments as well as the current state and prospects for further building bilateral relations between the two states. State Secretary Dr Krolikowski explained to his opposite number the GDR's responsible and constructive policies, with which the GDR is contributing to the realization of the Warsaw Pact countries' comprehensive peace program. The politicians declared themselves in favor of looking for ways and forms of making further progress in the dialogue and cooperation between the GDR and the United States, on the basis of equality and a balance of interests.

The talks proceeded in a businesslike and open atmosphere.

Holds Talks With Axen

LD1110192588 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1836 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber, received John C. Whitehead, U.S. assistant secretary of state, for a talk in Berlin. During the meeting, current questions concerning international developments and bilateral relations were discussed.

Hermann Axen told the U.S. politician that the improvement in international relations which has occurred must be strengthened by further disarmament and security and confidence building. The GDR is actively contributing to this with its constructive peace policy.

John C. Whitehead outlined some aspects of U.S. foreign policy. The United States is ready to further participate in the political dialogue and disarmament negotiations.

Hermann Axen and John C. Whitehead welcomed the revival of the exchange of political views between the GDR and the United States at the state and parliamentary level. Existing contacts must be continued to effectively expand relations between the two states.

Foreign Ministry Rejects FRG Protest on Newsmen
LD1110172988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Today the GDR Foreign Ministry rejected a protest made by the FRG Permanent Mission against the alleged obstruction of Western correspondents yesterday evening in the GDR capital. The GDR Foreign Ministry pointed out to the FRG Permanent Mission that ARD and ZDF correspondents must obey the laws of the GDR.

Honecker Attends National Day Military Parade
LD0710140588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1110 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Celebrations to mark the 39th anniversary of the GDR began in Berlin today with an honor parade by the National People's Army [NVA]. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, other members of the party and state leadership, and foreign guests on the dais of honor were greeted.

Among the guests at the parade were Army General Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], and the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR, including the doyen, Syrian Ambassador Dr Faysal Summaq. Tens of thousands of people lined the route of the parade on Karl-Marx-Allee.

During the marchpast the soldiers of the people demonstrated their consistent determination to accomplish honorably the class task of reliably protecting peace and socialism reaffirmed by the 11th SED Congress.

The parade commander, Colonel General Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister for national defense and chief of Ground Forces Command, earlier reported to Army Gen Heinz Kessler. The defense minister welcomed and congratulated the members of the NVA and the Border Troops on national day. They then formed up for the marchpast.

At the head of the procession marched officers who are studying at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy, which has been in existence for almost 3 decades. Then followed units from the officers' colleges of the Ground Forces, the Air Force, the Air Defense, the Border Troops, and the People's Navy.

Airborne vehicles of the parachute troops led the motorized sections of the parade. Units of the Hans Beimler and Paul Hegenbart rifle regiments showed that the NVA possesses everything necessary to always keep combat strength and defense readiness at the required level. The Hegenbart regiment recently demonstrated its military mastery during the Druzhba-88 joint exercises of the NVA, the GSFG, and the Polish Army in front of observers from 23 CSCE countries.

Antitank troops, tank troops with modern T-72's, artillery units, and air defense missile troops were among those giving their military salute.

Central Committee's Hermann Meyer Dies 8 Oct
LD0810095788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0811 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED Central Committee and the GDR Academy of Arts announce with deep sorrow that Prof Ernst Hermann Meyer, member of the SED Central Committee and the GDR Academy of Arts, and honorary president of the Composers and Musicologists Association, died on Saturday [8 October] at the age of 82 after a long and serious illness.

Daily Answers 'Absurd' Romanian Press Articles
LD0810230788 Budapest MTI in English
2026 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—The following article is carried in the Saturday [8 October] issue of "NEPSZABADSAG" under the heading "From Absurd to the Absurd":

In the middle of last week SCIENTEIA, the central daily of the Romanian Communist Party, carried three letters as a continuation of the recent campaign which started with a lengthy editorial. Letter headings included: Against Slander, Theories for the Rubbish Pit of History, and We Will Not Permit.

The letter headings suggest that the letters are strikingly similar and apparently destined to confirm earlier suggestions in the newspaper that the Hungarian leaders and the press are intervening in Romania's internal affairs, and that the Hungarian activity is 'anti-Romanian and anti-socialist'. As an illustration, we quote only one sentence from one of the letters signed by people presumably of Hungarian origin: "...the rights and duties of the Romanian Hungarians are neither smaller nor bigger than those of the other citizens of Romania, and even if we suppose, as an extreme absurdity, any violation in this respect, it would not be the responsibility of Budapest to protect us," the sentence is eloquent.

As the above SCIENTEIA article was carried in "NEPSZABADSAG" at full length (our reply has not yet been published in SCIENTEIA...), it is not necessary to carry the letters that repeat what our readers already know. It suffices to voice regret that the method of bringing up letters authentically reflecting higher positions is not new and was once used elsewhere. We have no such illusion that the correspondents took up their pens spontaneously, and thus we cannot but conclude that Bucharest has decided for the escalation of debate and confrontation. Perhaps because they are against the continuation of the Arad dialogue which at last raised hope for the normalization of relations? Or perhaps because they want to use the unjust accusation of our anti-Romanian conduct for uniting public opinion? It is perhaps that the no less absurd charge of Hungary's anti-socialist attitude is hoped to harm our prestige in other socialist countries. Probably all three factors play a part. However, the result of all this is a different question, as if a political line receives increasingly frequent warnings both from West and East that the guaranteeing of human rights is not a matter of a unilateral declaration and a private affair in the common "European house", such letters will hardly change the public mood. What is more, the irrational content and categorical rhetoric of the letters qualify not the accused but the correspondents, and we do not mean here Alexandra Veraszto, Alexandru Nagy and Albert Kiss who wrote about 'The Absurdity of Absurdities', "[quotation marks as received] says "NEPSZABADSAG".

Comparison of Editorial on SCIENTEIA Criticism

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 4 October on page 2 carries a 500-word "gy d"-signed editorial commenting on the allegations against the Hungarian press and Hungarian officials made by an article published in the Romanian daily SCIENTEIA on 2 October. The MAGYAR HIRLAP report, entitled "What Is the Debate Really About?", has been compared with the Budapest MTI English version published in the Hungary section of the 5 October East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 28, revealing the following variation:

penultimate paragraph, first sentence to last paragraph, first sentence reads in MAGYAR HIRLAP: ...by contractual bonds. We think that interstate agreements should be implemented everywhere in the world, including in this area of Europe. However, the SCIENTEIA article does not mention this, and it is a pity to remain silent about this. And what is even more thought-provoking is the procedure that we have witnessed, which is a far from convincing one: Statements "condemning" the activity of the consulate in Cluj are really lacking in convincing arguments....

The Romanian party paper... (supplying additional sentence and providing newspaper version)

Former Consul to Cluj Denies 'Interference'
AU0710130088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 4 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with Domokos Vekas, former consul-general in Cluj, by Peter Vajda: "Did You Interfere in Romania's Internal Affairs?"; date and place not given]

[Text] As already reported, at the end of last week an organized campaign was launched in Romania against the reopening of the Hungarian Consulate-General in Cluj. There were statements that closing the consulate was a correct step, and even that it should have been closed earlier. Among the charges was the claim that the consulate-general had carried out impermissible activities which had thus harmed the friendship between the Hungarian and Romanian peoples. We spoke about this with Domoko Vekas, who headed the consulate until its closure.

[Vajda] How do you assess the activity of the consulate from the "inside", how long did you head this consulate, and what principles did you apply in your activity?

[Vekas] The Hungarian-Romanian summit that was held in Debrecen and Oradea in 1977 decided on the establishment of a Romanian and a Hungarian consulate-general in Debrecen and Cluj, respectively. I became head of the Hungarian Consulate in March 1984 and continued to work there for more than 4 years.

[Vajda] Did you enjoy carrying out this function? As far as I know, you were born in Transylvania....

[Vekas] Yes. I was born in Kisgalambfalva, on the banks of the Nagy-Kukulo River. People there used to live and work in peace, have an influence on one another, and to show patience and attention toward each other. It also used to be a matter of honor to learn each other's language and culture, and to respect each other....

[Vajda] Obviously, it is not a big mistake to say that the establishment of consulates was aimed at promoting this understanding and mutual respect. What was the activity of the Hungarian Consulate-General in Cluj?

[Vekas] There were two sides to our tasks: One was to provide assistance to Hungarian citizens and protect their interests if they got into any trouble, and our second was to do our utmost to strengthen and deepen the friendship between our two countries by taking into consideration the long-term historical perspectives. From the moment the Hungarian Consulate began its activity, we endeavored to work in the spirit of the valid consular agreement to implement these duties. In order to describe our first task, let me mention the fact that almost 1,000,000 Hungarian citizens travel to Romania annually, most of them to visit relatives in Transylvania. Various problems can emerge when so many people visit another country: traffic accidents, illness, the loss of travel documents, luggage, or money, and other similar things that can happen to tourists anywhere in the world. The fact that we were able to assist them here in Kolozsvár [Cluj] was of great help to Hungarian tourists, as they did not have to travel several hundred kilometers to Bucharest.

[Vajda] Did the consulate have many such visitors?

[Vekas] There were days when we had 50 such cases, but there were also days with 100 such cases. These visitors often came on Sundays or holidays. All this shows that there is a great need for such an institution and that its activity fulfills a natural demand.

[Vajda] As you have already mentioned, the consulate also had other duties to fulfill.

[Vekas] Yes. We tried to establish the best possible relations with the Romanian authorities and institutions, in order to aid our cooperation. I traveled to each county capital of the six Romanian counties belonging to the consular area of activity, I introduced myself to the local party and state bodies, and I asked for their support for correct cooperation. I considered it particularly important to cooperate with the municipal heads of the city of Kolozsvár, because this metropolis of 300,000 inhabitants is an important intellectual and cultural center, with 100,000 Hungarians among them. I was given promises of assistance and I really needed help, as we needed special permission for each visit. Especially of late, it was not easy to obtain these permits. For example, we were not allowed to observe the implementation of the urban systematization plans in Cluj County. At the same time, we saw there was great interest in the

neighboring country's life, art, and science, and not only from the local ethnic Hungarians. I remember the many questions and observations of Romanian experts during a Romanian-language lecture given by a Hungarian agricultural expert. Visits by our artistic groups were also considered to be cultural events. So many people wanted to see the Hungarian film "Colonel Redl" that we had to organize two showings, followed by a large number of sincere congratulations. The receptions we held on the occasion of our National Day on 4 April were social events, and a particularly large crowd participated in the last reception on 4 April 1988. Many Romanian and Hungarian writers, scientists, artists, and priests were present on that occasion, with many representatives of the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Romanian Orthodox Churches.

[Vajda] Among the latest Romanian allegations is one claiming that the Hungarian Consulate interfered in Romania's internal affairs. I know that it is not nice to ask such a thing, but I will nevertheless ask you whether there was any such case which could be interpreted as interference.

[Vekas] I remember a single case when I "interfered." A peasant died in Hungary who had two brothers in the same village in Transylvania, both of whom were peasants. One of them, who received the telegram, was able to obtain his passport and leave for the funeral. The other brother was turned down and told that he had not possess any telegram. I then called the passport office and told them that this was their affair, but I asked them to consider the possibility of the other brother also traveling to the funeral. Well, this was my only and greatest act of interference in internal affairs.... Perhaps you feel that my answer is not serious; nor is the allegation! In fact, all this is a totally unfounded accusation. We carried out our activity by observing every legal stipulation to the letter....

[Vajda] Looking back now, was this activity easy or difficult?

[Vekas] Unfortunately, the events that have taken place lately did not make it an easy activity. By this I mean the treatment of the national minority issue. In practical terms, no Hungarian-language books are in circulation. Local radio stations stopped broadcasting their Hungarian programs in large cities inhabited by Hungarians in Transylvania. Romanian television does not have a Hungarian-language program at all. In Cluj the streets named after Zsigmond Moricz and Antal Budai Nagy received new names overnight. It was also an open secret that staff meetings at the Hungarian Theatre in Cluj had to be held in Romanian. All this made my activity difficult because, in my opinion, the treatment of the national minorities is a key issue in both Romanian policy and in our bilateral relations.

[Vajda] How did the closure of the consulate take place?

[Vekas] It was absolutely clear that the decision was made at the highest level. We received only 48 hours to leave. We worked day and night to be able to pack up, and I am particularly bitter when I recall that we had to tell people who had asked for our help in these 2 days that we could no longer help them, as we no longer had the authority to do so, because there was no longer a Hungarian Consulate in Transylvania. They thus had to go to Bucharest.

[Vajda] From the 4 years you spent there, what do you recall with particular pleasure?

[Vekas] I recall many moments that attest to the mutual respect and interdependence of the people in Transylvania. Let me describe one of them for you: Driving to Baia Mare, we stopped near a village in the area to drink from the pure mountain spring. Another car stopped behind us with a large family of Romanians from Oas dressed in their national costumes. They came up to us and began to speak with us, and asked us who we were. We told them who we were. Their response was to welcome us and to tell us they were glad to see us there. They were glad that we were traveling in the same direction. It is a good feeling to remember such episodes....

[Vajda] Thank you for the interview.

Charges Once Again Refuted

*LD0910231788 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 88*

[From "The Week" program; interview with Domokos Vekas, former consul-general in Cluj, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given]]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The Romanian Government decided to violate an interstate agreement that was in force and accepted the consequences of this, when at the end of June it closed down the Hungarian Consulate-General in Cluj-Napoca. A centrally controlled campaign, which has nevertheless been presented as a local initiative of the people's will, has begun in Romania for the gates of the consulate-general to remain closed. Consul-General Domonkos Vekas, who, together with his colleagues, was compelled to leave Romania within 48 hours, is an experienced, recognized diplomat. He earlier was posted in Tirana, Rome, Bucharest, and Damascus. He first explains the motivations with which he set to work 4 years ago in Cluj-Napoca to our reporter.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Reporter] You felt at home in Transylvania, because that is where you are from, where you grew up. The consulate-general is accused of intervening in Romanian internal affairs. Is there not some truth in this, because you felt at home, and if you took measures on some matter, you rightly might have felt that you were acting for your own cause?

[Vekas] As for whether we intervened in Romanian affairs, I consider even the raising of this issue to be curious. On the basis of our entire activity, I consider it to be curious, and especially so, because recently such a campaign has been ongoing in Romania. So, that is groundless. I already had enough diplomatic experience in other countries, and everywhere I carried out my work satisfactorily. Our work, our activity is satisfactorily circumscribed, it is clearly adequately regulated in the Hungarian-Romanian consular agreement and in general documents that regulate diplomatic activity. We know this; we observed it to the utmost, from the first to the final minute.

[Reporter] But nevertheless, if you think back, was there no borderline case in your activity which perhaps might have been misinterpreted?

[Vekas] Well, let me give you an example. A Romanian citizen came to me to say that he had not been issued a passport. He had asked for one several times and had not been given one; but for health reasons, this would be necessary. Some years ago he had been operated on in Hungary; a hospital examination and treatment had been ensured for him. He had not been given a passport. Would we be able to help in some way? Well, if you please, I told him that it was entirely the affair of the Romanian authorities, the matter of the authorities there to supply Romanian citizens with travel documents, to help them in carrying out their daily tasks.

Yet I, for example, made the effort and also exhibited the courage in acting in the interest of such a matter. And I called up the head of the passport department in Cluj and told him that there was a concrete case here, and that he, to be sure, knew it. It was a matter of reasons of health, reasons of human health. They had promised a bed, etc., for the person in Hungary, and I would recommend that he examine the case, and if possible, help. If you please, this person came to Hungary in a few days' time. But I do not believe that this was intervention. I believe that on the basis of cooperation, of natural and expected, necessary cooperation, we resolved a decent matter and that it served everyone. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Recently, the Cluj-Napoca People's Councils and Cluj County demanded, in a resolution, that the consulate should not be restored in Cluj-Napoca. You are acquainted with the members and leaders of these two people's councils. To what extent does this request come from their hearts?

[Vekas] I cannot believe that these people, who knew us and our work, would have done this of their own initiative. And if they did so—and perhaps they did—I do not understand why they voiced their manifestations, sometimes congratulations and good wishes, for years. Was all that, perhaps, not genuine: Was that not real? So, I consider it curious; I do not understand this. I am

certain, I am convinced, that this is not their own initiative; it is a measure which is well thought-out, organized, and which functions under pressure.

[Reporter] One thing figuring in the objectives of official Romanian policy is the creation of a homogenous nation. Now, when everything in the world points to small units, polyphony, and variegatedness being on the agenda, how should we understand the endeavor to create a homogenous nation?

[Vekas] If a homogenous development means that it is a endeavour, a resolute endeavor for a monolingual country, for an exclusiveness of Romanian culture, or, for example, in Transylvania, for the exclusiveness of the Romanian character, and it seeks to neglect, to efface the memory of other features, other things, then, if you please, something is lame here. What makes Transylvania Transylvania is that it was the country of three peoples; they coexisted, they lived together there, and this readiness for coexistence still exists in the people. And great care must be taken so that this is not harmed nor dulled. [passage omitted] It is a marvelous, marvelous landscape, a marvelous countryside, and it is as beautiful geographically, and this is a benefit, it is a resource. If homogenization intends to make all this one color, this is sorrowful and impermissible. [end recording]

Marjai Departs for CEMA Meeting in Moscow
LD0910172988 Budapest MTI in English
1635 GMT 09 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—On Sunday [11 October] Jozsef Marjai left for Moscow to represent Hungary at the 129th session of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

PZPR Politburo's Baka Meets With Grosz
LD1010230288 Warsaw PAP in English
2215 GMT 10 Oct 88

[By PAP correspondent Tadeusz Belerski]

[Text] Budapest, Oct. 10—PUWP CC Secretary and Political Bureau member Wladyslaw Baka paid a one-day visit here today at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP).

Baka was received by HSWP CC General Secretary Karoly Grosz. During the meeting the two informed each other about the mutual processes of reforming the two countries' economies and further intentions in this field in the light of the democratization of socio-political life taking place now. They also discussed matters of inter-party cooperation.

During a meeting with HSWP CC Secretary and Political Bureau member Miklos Nemeth the sides evaluated the present stage of reforming the economy. They devoted

much attention to problems connected with balancing the economy and counteracting inflationary trends. The two also discussed the restructuring of industry and cooperation in exports as well as exchanged experiences stemming from inter-party cooperation in the economic sector and bilateral Polish-Hungarian relations.

In a statement for PAP Baka stressed that his talks concentrated primarily on issues connected with balancing the economy and counteracting inflationary trends. "The Hungarian economy is characterized by great market stability. The leadership and entire society are greatly determined to ensure a good market," Baka said.

Trade Union Member Views International Ties
LD0810230188 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 8 Oct 88

[From the "168 Hours" program; interview with Pal Forgacs, member of the TDDSZ [Democratic Union of Scientific Workers], by correspondent Tibor Hollauer; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Hollauer] What international relations does the TDDSZ have? I ask this because we have heard that you are striving to establish contacts of this kind.

[Forgacs] Our international relations are characterized by the trade union's openness. Without any discrimination we strive toward cooperation with foreign trade unions of various tendencies. In the past months we have managed to build relations with international organizations, first and foremost with the ILO, which has recognized our independent trade union. We have turned with a proposal for cooperation to the three big international trade union federations, the WFTU, the International Federation of Free Trade Unions, and the World Labor Federation. Two of these, the Free Trade Unions and the World Labor Federation, have responded to our proposal. We have not yet received such a response from the WFTU.

We have likewise turned to the trade unions of the East and West. Unfortunately, from Eastern and central Europe, we have succeeded in building contacts only with the Polish Solidarity. We have already exchanged delegations with them, too. Our delegation took part in the conference on human rights organized by Solidarity, and we are expecting their representatives to our delegates' session in December. [passage omitted]

[Hollauer] What happens if you establish relations with an organization which is illegal, which is not recognized by the given country's official organizations, which is not registered, or which practically operates illegally, as I say, such as for example, Solidarity? Does this not give rise to international complications?

[Forgacs] Well, here I would like to stress that we are an independent trade union. We maintain no links either with government or with political parties. We build our relations expressly only with sister trade union organizations.

[Hollauer] That is clear, forgive me. But if, let us say, the Polish Government considers Solidarity to be an illegal trade union, then I think a relationship of this kind could also be considered illegal. This will be sensed by Hungarian foreign policy as well, will it not?

[Forgacs] Yes. But here I have to stress that in our opinion it was illegal when they banned Solidarity, which in our view is the most representative organization of the Polish working class, of the workers, which is recognized by the decisive majority of the world's trade unions. Even the ILO recognizes its legality. Therefore, by having relations with Solidarity, in fact we are being faithful to our own basic democratic principles. In other words, we say that the rights of trade union freedom are not divisible. Therefore, we cannot accept any prohibitive government measures which curb the free activity of trade unions. So, we have to be logical with ourselves; if we have regarded ourselves, from the time of our foundation, as legal, even without any government recognition, then we have to apply this same principle to trade unions, no matter what their nationality.

So, I could say that we have a fundamentally principled standpoint which is not at all discriminatory. Therefore, we would gladly have relations with progovernment, or government-supporting, trade unions as well. It is not because of us that Solidarity was the only organization from central and Eastern Europe to respond to our proposal.

[Hollauer] Has the official trade union in Poland not reacted to it?

[Forgacs] No. No. Probably those who belong to the WFTU have coordinated their standpoints, because the WFTU has not responded either. On the basis of what considerations, we do not know. But in this way we have gotten into a situation, which to us is regrettable, which makes it look as if we are more closely linked to a certain tendency, such as the Free Trade Unions or the World Labor Federation. There is no question of this. We have extended a friendly hand to every trade union. Only, unfortunately, so far, for the time being, the Eastern and central European trade unions of a certain tendency have not accepted our proposal.

Kadar Discusses 1956 Events, Path of Socialism
LD1010090788 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Oct 88

[Text] [Announcer] THE NEW YORK TIMES carries an interview with Janos Kadar. Gyoergy Bolgar outlines the article:

[Bolgar] Entitled "A Hungarian Looks Back," the Sunday issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES carries an interview with Janos Kadar. It is an interview, but in the Western sense of the word. In other words, the journalist, in this case one of the paper's best known journalists, Flora Lewis, renders the content and atmosphere of the conversation for the most part in her own words, and only on occasion does she quote sentences from the subject of the interview.

The topic is the life of Janos Kadar, looking back from the office where he worked as the party's general secretary and which he now occupies as chairman. The past—the illegal workers movement, the arrests, '56—naturally all came up in the discussion, and at this point Kadar laughingly refers to Jimmy Carter, the born-again Christian, because as he says, that is also true of him as a communist, because one of the imprisoned victims of the Rakosi regime later joined the leadership.

He mentions the most frequent accusation, that he called in the Soviet troops. He says, however, that the Soviets had not even left the country, and that apart from this, others in the government had also asked for their help. His objective, with this, was to prevent a civil war, or a larger war if the Americans were to intervene, which he felt, at that time, to be a realistic possibility.

Did he regret it, asked Flora Lewis?

No. We promised that we would restore law and order, and we did so. Public opinion later understood this and supported us. The consolidation lasted from November of 1956 until '60; after that, 15 very good years followed. True, there were grave economic problems after that.

Lewis quotes the joke according to which socialism is the longest path leading to capitalism. Janos Kadar is familiar with the joke, but he does not laugh at it. The system gave the people something, he says, and they now feel that this is endangered. The capitalist political and social system cannot be reinstated if socialism is able to defend itself, the U.S. journalist quotes the party chairman as saying.

Janos Kadar is more than 76 years old. He wants change and he supports Gorbachev, but he would not like it if they were to go too far, writes Flora Lewis. He is an exceptional man, but his story is not exceptional nowadays in the East.

National Assembly Hears Standing Order Report
LD0710220388 Budapest MTI in English
2047 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—On Friday [7 October] evening in Budapest, the autumn session of the Hungarian National Assembly continued with a verbal report by Mihaly Korom, president of the committee that prepared the modernization of the Parliamentary Standing Order. Mihaly Korom said it was indispensable

that parliament carry out its work, and fulfil its constitutional functions, on the basis of the national programme of building socialism, in a democratic manner, and in accordance with socialist pluralism. The Standing Order of Parliament was destined to serve and promote, through its appropriate measures, the enforcement of these demands.

The parliamentary committee was of the opinion that it was not expedient to delay the amendment to the standing order until the submittal of the comprehensive modernization of the Constitution, scheduled to take place in 1990. It was already submitting proposals to the National Assembly which could improve conditions for the successful activity of the body and the MPs now.

Discussing the most important proposals, he said that these affected the position of the Presidential Council and the relationship of the government to the National Assembly. The attention of the Constitution Committee was called to the following: the chairman of the Council of Ministers should be elected by parliament separately, and it should guarantee the elected chairman the right to submit his personal proposals for the makeup of the government. The committee believed the constitutional, standing order regulation of the institute of confidence and no-confidence vote to be an important issue.

The body also proposes that the jurisdiction of summoning the National Assembly fall to the president of parliament, instead of the Presidential Council, with the exception of summoning the founding session. It is expedient to set down that a closed session of parliament be ordered only for the protection of state secrets. The committee proposes that the standing order should regulate the use of a vote-counting machine, which could take place following the reconstruction of the parliamentary halls currently in progress. The committee proposes to set down in the standing order that there should be secret voting in the affairs of the clerks of parliament, and in all other personnel issues in its scope of authority.

In connection with parliamentary control of governmental work, the body moves to uphold the institution of MPs' questions that merely require information, but that these should be clearly separated from the right of interpellation. The proposal under which MPs are given the possibility, alongside their participation in MPs' groups and standing committees, of initiating bills and setting up special groups to fulfil their activity as MPs, is considered by the committee to be an important, new political element in developing the successful work of the National Assembly. These groups can see that the various interests which genuinely exist in society be brought to the surface, and be clashed against each other. The committee does not support the introduction of the institution of full-time members of parliament.

Parliament unanimously approved Mihaly Korom's report.

Following the report, the session heard interpellations and questions, and with these the three-day session of the Hungarian National Assembly closed.

Scientific Trade Union Demands Raise
LD1210053388 Budapest MTI in English
2349 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (MTI)—As reported on Monday, the members of the Democratic Union of Scientific Workers (TDDSZ) employed at public collections and cultural institutions joined the recent position of the trade union secretaries of museums, libraries and archives, and demanded that a 30 per cent pay rise be assured. The trade union representatives of the institutions met in conference on Tuesday.

Endre Szabo, general secretary of the Hungarian Union of Civil Service Workers, said that workers of archives, museums, libraries and cultural houses last received central wage increases in 1977. This issue was placed on the agenda of the meetings between the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) and the government seven times over the past years, and although the submittal was met with agreement from all sides, the government requested patience. To date the wage settlement has not taken place. The general secretary stressed he considers the demand of a minimal 30 per cent pay rise from October 1, and the eventual continuous adjustment of wages, to be a realistic and responsible position.

Speakers in the debate called attention to the fact that the financial situation of the concerned institutions is deteriorating from year to year. If the tendency continues, the organized workers will no longer be able to defend themselves even with a partial discontinuation of their services. It would not be a step preceeding a strike, as the institutes will be forced to close down temporarily.

The trade union representatives of 15 national institutions announced that if they do not receive a favourable reply from the government by the end of October, they will launch warning actions.

PPF National Council Elects Members
LD1110165288 Budapest MTI in English
1510 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (MTI)—The Tuesday session of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front (PPF), chaired by Gyula Kallai, discussed the future role of the People's Front in Hungarian society and passed decisions on matters of personnel. The session was attended by Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [MSZMP] Political Committee and minister of state.

In his opening address, Gyula Kallai referred to recent changes in the leadership of a number of state and social organizations. The leaders of these organizations have so far taken part in the work of the PPF National Council, a tradition which will continue.

The National Council elected as members the following politicians:- Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, with two abstentions, Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, with two votes against and six abstentions, Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, with eleven votes against and seven abstentions, and Gyorgy Baradlai, president of the National Organization of Retailers, unanimously.

In his keynote address dealing with the role and tasks of the People's Front, Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the PPF National Council, spoke about some of the contradictions in the current home policy. He pointed out that the new social strategy, which had been clearly outlined at the party conference, was not only attractive to the majority of Hungarian people, but seemed to be a basis for a new national consensus. In the meantime, however, people felt only birth-pains and a deterioration in their social situation and general mood. The eighties had brought clear evidence that the long-awaited economic reform could only be take place parallel with a reform of the system of political institutions. This appeared to be no longer sufficient. Economic reform could be discredited by insufficient economic performance and the principle of performance could only be strengthened through social policy reforms. The same

could hold true for democratism, which could either remain just a word or, at worst, decline to demagoguery, if social values were not enforced and economic performance increased.

Istvan Huszar pointed out that Hungarian society was going through a period of seeking for new avenues, which implied uncertainty, but the People's Front did not wish to keep anyone in the dark: Its efforts to find new ways served the cause of socialism. He emphasized that, in order to lay stable foundations for advance, it was indispensable to increase economic performance, evolve communities that assert social values and improve cultural standards, and create a democratic political mechanism.

We must adopt a way of thinking that makes a realistic assessment of contemporary requirements, and a picture of socialism on which dissidents can also draw the lines they conceive, he went on.

We declare unambiguously that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], the most organized and most united forces in society, plays a decisive role in the People's Front movement. Just as we do not know any concept of socialism without communist features, so we cannot conceive of a people's front without communist participation. The People's Front has adjusted, and continues to adjust itself, to changing requirements in which the traditional, monolithic political organization and practice of socialism is replaced by a new, pluralistic organization. Pluralism can only rely on a party policy similar to that of the People's Front, presuming an advanced institutional system of people's representation, a government answerable to parliament, and equal-ranking social organizations, as well as mass movements and communal organizations that, in a given case, also assume the functions of a party.

Urban Holds Regular News Conference 11 Oct

Views Round Table, Document
LD1110201488 Warsaw PAP in English
1732 GMT 11 Oct 88

[By Waldemar Janiec and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct.—The key topics touched upon by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at his press conference today were the alleged secret document of the chancellery of the PUWP CC first secretary, work on forming a new government, preparations for the "round table", and student demonstrations.

"Secret Document" Case [subhead]

Urban referred to the issue, blown out of proportion by Western news agencies, of the alleged "secret document" which was supposed to have been addressed from the chancellery of the PUWP CC first secretary to first secretaries of PUWP factory committees. The spokesman termed the whole case as absurd, stating in part:

"The stance of the PUWP CC on 'Solidarity' with which representatives of the authorities will start the round table talks is fully open and has been formulated at the 8th plenum and announced in the press.

"It holds that in the current economically difficult times it would be disadvantageous for the economy, society and the reform were changes to take place in the trade union movement leading to divisions and a revival of political struggle in work establishments and to an escalation of demands.

"On the other hand, one must search for a new model of the trade union movement.

"The search for compromise at the round table with the participation of trade union activists will commence within these clearly though flexible limits."

Urban added that it was possible to determine that the Western reports were based on the text of a telex containing suggestions of one of the cells at the Central Committee meant for local party lecturers. This telex did not come out of the Chancellery of the CC Secretariat or, as it was termed, from the chancellery of the first secretary. The mistake of the Western newsmen stems from the fact that this telex was sent to factories by the chancellery of one of the voivodship first secretaries, Urban said.

The telex on the whole carried correct formulations reflecting the views of the party with the exception of one of its fragments incorrectly expressing intentions. It speaks of engulfing which is not the correct description of proposals to hold new elections to trade union authorities in some plants in such a way as to shape the authorities' composition and profile in line with the

unconstrained wish of the majority of the crew, the spokesman elaborated. What is Rakowski's Government Going To Look Like [subhead]

Asked whether Premier Rakowski's government will strive at greater independence from political centres, Urban replied in part:

"The issue of relations between the party leadership and government is not a new one. At the 7th CC Plenum held this June, Wojciech Jaruzelski stated in his report that the concept and practice of a detailed description by the party of the tasks of state bodies was an anachronism. The party will not be doing government's job, Jaruzelski said then.

"Recently at the Sejm, proposing Mieczyslaw Rakowski to the post of premier, Jaruzelski stated that the party cannot issue a kind of political 'insurance policy' to the government.

"The Sejm has criticized the to-date search for detailed approval in the party leadership for the respective steps of the government. Premier Rakowski stated on his party that he sought a strengthening and deepening of coalition.

"From all of these statements one can draw a conclusion that the day-do-day relations between the government and the party leadership will develop in full concordance with the concept carried in the report to the 7th plenum."

The spokesman also added that nowhere in the world was a government independent of the party which had the majority in the government, stating at the same time that the party developed the principle of the separateness of the legally described range of powers of state structures and their independent activities. It bears influence on them within the frame of constitutional mechanisms through its members who are, for example Sejm deputies or have a seat in the government. It does not however take responsibility for the correctness of individual decisions, the spokesman added.

Asked for the results of the premier's talks on expanding the government coalition, Urban stated that an expansion of the coalition character of government was encountering difficulties but that the premier's talks on forming the government were under way. The premier will present their effects at the Sejm the day after tomorrow. REUTER reported, Urban went on, that Premier Rakowski declared that he would publicly condemn non-communist activists who rejected his proposals of joining the governments (translation from the Polish—Ed.). This is not true. The premier did not say this, the spokesman stated.

Replying to another question, the spokesman stressed that the fall of Premier Messner's government did not signify the downfall of the program of economic reforms

which would be continued. He also added that the concepts of "withdrawing the state from the economic sphere" professed by some circles from the opposition were irrational.

"Round Table" [subhead]

Replying to questions about the "round table" meeting, the spokesman recalled that it was being convened at the invitation of the chairman of the government law, public order and social discipline committee, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak on the basis of his statement carried by the press on August 27. In this statement the inviting party states:

"I do not set any conditions both as concerns the subject matter of talks and the composition of the participants. I do however exclude the possibility of people rejecting the legal and constitutional order of people's Poland taking part." The criteria of invitations have therefore been put to detail, Urban stressed.

Bringing the participants together calls for preparatory agreement as concerns the composition. Hence, the composition of the round table is a matter of multilateral consultations with the preservation of specific criteria described by Gen. Kiszczak as the inviting party.

The composition is being determined on the principle of various forces, structures, organizations and groups forwarding delegates and next this extensive list of names is agreed on a multilateral basis and reduced. This is because the round table has limited room and various groups and organizations are trying to push forward too many representatives. They are therefore encouraged to introduce indispensable reductions in these numbers, Urban said.

In reply to further questions, Urban said that he could not yet announce a precise date of the "round table" or a list of its participants. Noting that the "round table" would gather representatives of various orientations and multifarious organizations representing various groups of society, the spokesman announced that the "round table" talks would primarily focus on such subjects as: political reforms, the future construction of the political system, issues of economic reform, and issues of the model of the trade union movement. The spokesman also added that teams would hold meetings to tackle more specific matters. Their number and subject matter are still the topic of arrangements, said Urban.

Student Demonstrations [subhead]

Referring to the student manifestations planned to take place at some universities today, Urban stated that they stirred the disapproval of the political and state authorities. We deem student demonstrations as excesses which are an expression of the bad intentions of the organizers and the political immaturity of participants, Urban said.

These manifestations are being held on the eve of the debates of the round table. They are therefore adventurism aimed against national agreement, an attempt at torpedoing the round table, arrogance towards all of its participants.

Student demonstrations are organized after the announcement by the authorities of the following: the program of democratizing life at universities, development of student self-government and the autonomy of universities, start of works on amendments to the law on schooling, increase of number and kinds of student organizations. They are being started following decisions to expand the number of students eligible to receive stipends and an increase in their volume, that is after a significant increase by society of resources enabling students to pursue their studies, the spokesman pointed out.

"I can hardly assess it otherwise than putting brakes on the process of national reconciliation, and especially the round table, than a desire to discredit the policy of widening liberties and democratic reforms by showing that it only encourages to provoke unrest", Urban stressed.

Answering further questions, Minister Urban presented a list of new societies, recently registered, and added that the delay in the registration of the Warsaw economic society and the Wielkopolskie Society results from the fact that their statutes provide for economic activities which is contradictory to the existing law on societies. Among the associations waiting to be registered the spokesman listed the Society of the Friends of Oxford University, the Academic League of Warsaw University, the Byelorussian Students Association, the Patronal Penitentiary Association, the Society "Academy of Sexological Knowledge", the Society of Siberian Deportees, and others.

Answering the question about the reasons for stopping last Friday a political happening near the Felix Dzierzynski monument in Warsaw where, among other things, ironical slogans were shouted, e.g. "Dzierzynski our idol", Urban said: "As far as I know, Dzierzynski has not taken offence."

During the conference the spokesman informed that next Friday [14 October] Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski will hold a press conference in Warsaw.

Asked if next Tuesday he will hold his weekly conference, the spokesman said: "I think I will."

Views Demonstrations

LD1110143588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1306 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Now, according to our announcement, a statement by Jerzy Urban.

[Begin Urban recording] Some of the students in some colleges have announced demonstrations for today. I do not know what will be their extent but the political and state authorities disapprove of them firmly. We regard student demonstrations as excesses which manifest bad intentions of their organizers and political immaturity of their participants. The demonstrations are being organized almost on the eve of Premier Rakowski's presentation to the Sejm of proposals for the composition of the new government and its program.

Society places considerable hopes in this government. This government is creating a great opportunity for the country. One must make actions aimed at overcoming the crisis phenomena easier for the government and not make its work more difficult from the start. The students demonstrate blindly. They demonstrate for the sake of demonstrating.

These demonstrations are being organized shortly before the deliberations of the roundtable. Thus, they are disturbances aimed at the national accord and a real attempt to torpedo the roundtable, as well as arrogant behavior toward all its participants. The student demonstrations are being organized after the authorities have announced a program to democratize life at colleges, to develop student self-government and independence [autonomia] of schools of higher education, after work has started on the amendment to the law on higher education, and on increasing the number and variety of student organizations. The demonstrations are being unleashed after decisions were made to extend the right to grants and increase their amount, that is after society has considerably increased the means provided to students to enable them to study.

The organizers of the demonstrations have not even been kind enough to wait until the student milieu discusses all these issues and all these changes which are compatible with its demands, and they are taking anarchic actions. It is difficult for me to assess it other than as curbing the process of national accord and the roundtable in particular, or to assess it other than a wish to compromise the policy of increasing democratic freedoms and reforms, by showing that such a policy only encourages people to instigate disturbances. The organizers of the student demonstrations show themselves to society as an extremist element deprived of common sense and responsibility, acting against universal hopes for accord, peace, and effective reforms.

Picketing military training classes at Warsaw University is a proof of the antistate tendencies of some of these actions. Students have not yet started their studies permanently and at various colleges they are talking about strikes.

A surprise is awaiting supporters of such an idea: Experience shows that through noisy radicalism one can sometimes lose more than one can win. [end recording]

Transcript of Urban's 4 Oct Press Conference Published
AU1210122888 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 5 Oct 88 pp 1, 7, 8

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 4 October]

[Text] During his weekly press conference at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 4 October, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban answered questions. Here is the transcript.

PAP: I am sorry you had to wait for us. We have learned that Solidarity plans to stage rallies in some colleges in order to back its demands for legalization. What do the authorities say to that?

Urban: These rallies would take place almost on the eve of the session that is due to form a new government, and a few days before the "roundtable" talks. In this context one must look at the attempts by some students to organize demonstrations before they have even started to attend classes. The organizers should ask themselves whether they will make the process of accord easier or more difficult. If only they bothered to think, they would reach the conclusion that they will hinder it and act as a brake. If the process of democratization throughout the country and in colleges meets with political rallies, the organizers of these rallies are really telling the authorities: Do not expand the scope of liberties, because we will use this as a sign of tolerance toward unrest and greater demands. The so-called opposition should regard the demonstrations planned in some colleges as a provocation that undermines assurances that greater liberties will secure calm and possible agreements will be respected.

Besides, it is not just students who are planning to undermine the process of accord. Speeches by various members of the opposition give the impression that these people want to discredit those colleagues of theirs who are going to take part in the "roundtable." Ernest Skalski has said that strikes are economically harmless and suggests that political parties should be expelled from the factories, though he did not mention the PZPR by name. Does that not suggest that the same political nonsense that led to martial law in 1981 is being bandied about today? Is it not meant to suggest that authentic compromise is just an illusion? Jacek Kuron said on the BBC: "I think there is a real chance that the present system will disintegrate under social pressure, perhaps strike pressure. Those who favor talks from a position of strength forget that the other side may feel compelled to adopt the same principle. Our strength is more real."

Speaking about Solidarity, toward the legalization of which some "roundtable" participants intend to strive, Bronislaw Geremek told Western journalists: "Solidarity accepts that the PZPR will retain control over the Army,

Interior Ministry, and entire state administration. In other words, the party will administer a kind of geopolitical 'open-air museum'. But it is not known who would take control of the remaining ministries, because Dr Geremek adds: "The opposition is not concerned with taking part in government. It is concerned with exercising control over the work of the government." In other words, they do not want to assume joint responsibility for events in Poland, they only want to control them and comment on them.

That is how some members of the opposition are digging up almost everything they thought of in 1981 and showing that they have learned nothing. They justify the views of those on the other side who say that compromise would mean the death of socialism, and that, if one gives the opposition a finger, they will bite off the whole hand.

Hardliners always serve a useful purpose for the people against whom they are supposed to be struggling. If one adds to this the creation of new Solidarity cells, all this is not a very propitious climate for the "roundtable," and does not encourage a climate of moderation, realism, and mutual trust.

In a nutshell, if they want accord, they should not make our road to this objective difficult.

Henryk Smoczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: I know that Minister Rakowski has held talks with the allied parties, but we know nothing about talks between him and other milieus. I have in mind those milieus that are meant to expand the government's political composition. Can you tell us anything?

Urban: In keeping with Wojciech Jaruzelski's Sejm announcement about an open government that would be formed following broad political consultations, Premier Rakowski is putting this intention into effect. He is attempting to expand the political composition of the Council of Ministers, which he said he would do when he thanked the Sejm for electing him. He is also having talks with certain persons who describe themselves as the opposition, as well as with independent personalities. One has to differentiate between, on the one hand, people connected with the opposition or under the sway of the Episcopate and, on the other hand, independent people. It is too early to make any prognoses. I shall not name the people with whom Premier Rakowski has already talked or is going to talk, for it would be premature to give their names, although some of those people have already told newsmen that they have held talks with him. These talks are meant to be a probe, and should not become public at this stage. On the one hand, quoting names could create the impression that pressure is being applied to these people, while on the other hand it could restrict the premier's freedom to decide on the composition of the government which he is soon going to propose to the Sejm.

AP has quoted Bronislaw Geremek as saying that these talks are an attempt by the premier to discredit the "roundtable," which Geremek himself thinks will fail. Geremek says: "These talks are an attempt to show that dialogue is not necessary, because one can achieve certain things even without it." This is a surprising view!

The opposition tells us: Make a move, we want real influence on government. But when we try to invite members of this milieu to take part in government, they call it subversion, although no one has backed down from participating in the "roundtable." They hold against us the fact that we do not implement political changes punctually, and that we want to expand the government coalition and seek accord at a "roundtable" at the same time. And yet all we are doing is accelerating accord. Dr Geremek either did not think about what he was saying, or was thinking less about the country's needs and more about the fact that no accords should occur without the participation of circles with which he is connected.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: What progress has been made in preparing for the "roundtable"? Can one say when it will start and whether the press will cover it?

Urban: Indeed, there is progress concerning the list of participants, the composition of subcommittees, and various matters of organization. One can expect the "roundtable" to start in mid-October. I have nothing else to say, because all these matters have to be agreed on, including the question of press coverage.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTiset of Finland: According to today's TRYBUNA LUDU, a Solidarity cell has already been set up at the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant in Wroclaw. What does the government think?

Urban: I have already said that creating faits accomplis that forestall the future model of the trade union movement is contrary to the agreed procedure and something that undermines the confidence that is required for a successful "roundtable."

Evelia Maitret, Mexican TV: Could you comment on the meaning of the Polish visit by Gustavo Petricoli, Mexico's secretary of finance? Is he going to discuss with the Polish authorities the pact of economic solidarity that was signed by the Mexican Government as a result of a private and trade union initiative, and which reduced inflation from 15.5 percent last January to less than 1 percent in August? This is of particular significance at a time when Poland itself wants to introduce an anticrisis program.

Urban: We are pleased with the development of economic relations with Latin American countries, especially with a great country like Mexico. We believe we still have not exhausted all the possibilities of expanding these economic relations. These relations might be more

fruitful than those with the most economically powerful countries, because Poland might be a more attractive trade partner for Latin America than it is for economic powers like Japan or the United States. All that Mexico has done in order to reduce its inflation will certainly be an interesting topic for us during the talks. After all, we are also seeking a way of radically reducing Polish inflation. However, we do not think the Mexican experience can be transplanted directly to Poland, because of the great difference between the structure and nature of the two economies and because Mexico's economic relations with Western sources capable of reinforcing its economy are incomparably better than Poland's relations with them. Poland still cannot gain suitable support for its economic plans.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: Could you confirm that the status of the Israeli mission in Warsaw was changed last week? If so, why? Poland has always said that any change in Polish-Israeli relations would depend on progress in settling Israeli-Arab issues. Nothing like that has happened. Therefore, does this latest development signify any change in the Polish Government's stance?

Urban: This is a technical change which abolishes the fictitious handling of Israeli interests by the ambassador of a third country, something that was pure protocol. Poland still insists that full diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel will only be possible when some sort of progress occurs concerning peace in the Middle East.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: When the Sejm recalled the Messner government on 19 September, it charged Messner with forming a new one. How is that possible if Rakowski is already sitting in Messner's office?

Urban: It is possible because the Messner government is still in office, but at the same time the Sejm has appointed Rakowski to be chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Rakowski is simultaneously carrying out his task to form the new government. Therefore, these are parallel facts. That means that Rakowski is a kind of premier elect, though he does have the power to lead the old government. The old government is still performing its old functions, so as not to leave a vacuum or gap in the exercise of power. This is a transitional stage which will soon pass.

While on the subject, I thought I would reply to a question from last week. Last week you said that a meeting between environmental ministers and experts from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Poland was planned, and asked whether it had taken place. I said I had no information. But today I can say that a meeting between environmental secretaries of state from these countries was indeed scheduled for mid-September, but was postponed.

The negotiators are still faced with difficult problems. All three sides realize the differences in the views they hold. That is why the process is protracted. In addition, there were difficulties in accommodating the meeting in the schedule of each side, therefore it was decided to postpone it until November. We do not rule out the possibility of a second such meeting, also in November. We think an agreement should be signed before the end of the year.

Yousf Mah'd, WAFA Palestinian Press Agency: Does the technical change you mentioned also apply to the Polish visa unit at the branch of the Polish Savings Bank in Tel Aviv?

Urban: I suppose so, though I have not checked.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Returning to Israel, it is obvious that Polish politics is not independent but is geared to that of the other Warsaw Pact countries. The Czechs have raised Israel's status, the Hungarians too, and now the Poles have also done something. Within the alliance, what is Polish policy toward Israel and the Middle East?

Urban: We want to improve relations with Israel and expand them. We do not think there are any thorny issues in Polish-Israeli relations. Our policy vis-a-vis Israel, shaped by the severance of diplomatic relations because of the 1967 events, is not the result of bilateral events, but the result of Israel's policy of annexation in the Middle East. Right now there are increased chances of a multilateral settlement of Middle East problems. Poland has always advocated a peaceful settlement of Middle East problems by means of multilateral talks, the kind of settlement that would guarantee independence and safe borders for every country in this region, the kind of settlement in which the Palestinian people would have the possibility of independent statehood.

Because these chances of settling the Middle East problem are increasing rather than decreasing, we are taking cautious steps toward improving bilateral relations. But we are trying to reconcile realism with our principled stance of friendship vis-a-vis the Arab countries.

Barbara Drozd, ZYCIE WARSZAWY: You said that the Polish Government asked British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to postpone her visit to Poland only because her visit would have coincided with the work on forming the new government. Is that really the only reason?

Urban: That is the real main reason. The first ever visit by a British prime minister to Poland is an event of such significance that it should not be occluded by important Polish internal events. First, the government has to work out guidelines for its own actions, including in the sphere of Polish-British relations, so that the government-level talks may be mature.

But there have also been other, secondary considerations. If the visit were to go ahead as planned, it would coincide with the beginning of the "roundtable." I do not think Prime Minister Thatcher would be happy if certain points on her private programme gave commentators grounds to suggest that she was trying to back someone at the "roundtable" or directly interfere in Polish domestic affairs.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: Western stations are saying that persons who took part in the strikes are still being persecuted, even though there were promises that there would be no such persecution. How is this?

Urban: Twenty-three cases were filed against people who led the illegal strikes. Five of them have ended in an unconditional or conditional waiver of proceedings. Those guilty of organizing the wildcat strikes were ordered to pay suitable sums of money for public causes, such as the Children's Health Center. One can expect the other cases to end the same way, but they are continuing right now.

Another consideration is responsibility for the wildcat strikes. Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak has asked the relevant enterprise managers to consider reinstating the strike organizers and participants who were subjected to disciplinary measures. Whoever turned up was reinstated. But there could have been departures from this rule, because enterprises are independent and self-managing. That is what we all wanted. So now it is difficult to expect every enterprise management to act in the same way.

Krzysztof Lewandowski, KURIER POLSKI: Some Western newspapers have alleged that there were disputes in the Politburo about M. Rakowski's appointment as premier. Did various candidates fight for the premiership? Why can we not get more information about that?

Urban: You cannot, because what you say is untrue. I have been able to learn that M. Rakowski's candidacy for premiership was not disputed either by the Politburo or by the Central Committee plenum, or by Sejm Deputies' Clubs.

Evelina Maitret, Mexican Television: How is it that Professor Zdzislaw Sadowski, who was responsible for the famed price-incomes operation, which has proved to be an utter failure, has been chosen to present the government program for consolidation of the national economy?

Urban: First, responsibility for that failure is borne by the entire government and not by a single person. Second, I am not quite at home with your question. As I have already said, the old government has to carry on until a new government is formed. Economic activities cannot be halted.

John Daniszewski, ASSOCIATED PRESS: Will Premier Rakowski launch activities to improve the economy immediately after the Sejm meeting? What will be the new government's priorities? I have heard that housing construction is to be one such priority.

Urban: Premier Rakowski will present his program at the 13 October Sejm session. I cannot anticipate his speech, on which he is working. His present talks are part of his work to formulate the program of the new government.

All the same, I can assure you that the government will take specific economic measures, and that one of them will be housing construction. Since those measures apply to obvious issues, I can tell you before the premier does that specific economic steps will be taken to improve the economic situation immediately and in the long run, and to improve the housing situation, tasks which W. Jaruzelski indicated in his Sejm speech.

Daniszewski: Will those main steps to be taken by the government coincide with the roundtable meeting or will they precede the meeting? Will they be wholly determined by the results of the roundtable meeting?

Second translator: Mr J. Daniszewski has authorized me to translate this question, which is whether the government intends to launch forceful economic changes before the roundtable meeting or whether the government will wait for the results of the roundtable meeting.

Urban: Insofar as economic concepts and measures are concerned, there are no crucial differences between potential participants in the roundtable meeting. We want economic matters to have an important place in roundtable debates, but we do not think that the reform program may become a subject of disputes and basic discussions. We want discussions to turn around the ways by which maximum social support can be won for reforms. That is why waiting for roundtable debates on specific measures of economic policy would be unjustified, would generate society's disapproval, and would be responsible for the fact that, if we told our people that we would have to wait for roundtable debates in connection with the measures designed to reduce hardships experienced by people in daily life, the people would cry out loudly: We do not want any roundtable meeting, because we are not particularly interested in waiting.

Rawicz, Radio POLONIA: Do you see a paradox in the fact that on the eve of roundtable talks, in which Walesa will also participate, Walesa's chief antagonist and personal enemy will present a new government to the Sejm?

Urban: Searching for planes of accord does not mean that political contradictions and disputes have to cease. In 1981 M. Rakowski, as vice premier in the W. Jaruzelski government, stubbornly tried to reach accord with various people, including Lech Walesa. He failed, but we were not to blame. We have never abandoned the policy

of accord. On the contrary, we have continued it all the time. At present we continue to intensify it and to address some of our old partners. M. Rakowski was and is a politician of accord in the same way as he was and is a politician of struggle. We hope that what failed in 1981 will succeed now, but we are not absolutely certain that it will. There are various good and bad signs around. All sides to accord have gained much experience and have no doubt learned some lessons since 1981, though not quite the same lessons. I have already discussed this today.

It is also untrue that M. Rakowski is a personal enemy of Lech Walesa. Let me cite the SZTANDAR LUDU report on M. Rakowski's speech to young people at Horoszkowski camp about L. Walesa in July and not in August 1988.

M. Rakowski spoke of some of L. Walesa's talents and about the circumstances in 1981 when the stream of events continued to force himself and Walesa to adopt clearcut and precise stances. I cite SZTANDAR LUDU:

"You can fight a person as a political adversary, but you should not forget that this adversary is also a human being, one who holds different views. It is necessary to try to talk round such a person and not to treat him like someone who does not deserve respect as a human being. In a word, if you are loyal to your principles, you also have to be tolerant and to cultivate this virtue. (...) [no closing quotation marks as published] Referring to the Gdansk shipyards meeting, which was attended by L. Walesa and which took place several years ago, Rakowski said:

When I talked with Walesa in Gdansk at that time I made an error. I told him that we would talk like one physician to another. In the heat of the polemics I used that derisive term, and later thought that it was not of the highest standard. I, who possess a much higher education, was facing a simple man, and that is why I should not have used such a term. Someone ever drew my attention to that term by letter, and at first I demurred, but later on I thought I was not fair....

M. Rakowski's premiership is still a fresh and slightly sensational event, and that is why many various doubts or accusations continue to concern his person. As a journalist I have been personally touched by the charge, which has also been made by Western radio stations, that M. Rakowski is a politician with a genealogy which should not be taken seriously, because it is a journalistic genealogy. I could roll off my tongue at least 10 names of outstanding politicians in this century who have been journalists. However, including Rakowski among such politicians would be too much pandering on my part.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME MAGAZINE: Speaking of Vice Premier Sadowski's plan for consolidating the economy, do you not think that in the situation in which the government's present reform measures have been unsuccessful and have produced regress instead of success....

[sentence as published] Not to be accused of a malicious interpretation, I wish to recall Marek Dabrowski's article in POLITYKA. Do you think it would be better to leave the planned consolidation of the economy to the new government so as not to create the situation in which he who has damaged a watch should repair it himself?

Urban: The previous government has drawn up a draft plan for consolidating the economy, and that is why only this draft is under discussion. The new government will not accept it uncritically as its own and will not reject all of it solely because it was created by the previous government, whose performance has been criticized.

I know that some other center of power has also drawn up a kind of different draft plan for consolidating the economy. When the new government has been established it will take advantage of all programmatic achievements to date and will select from them that which suits its concepts, which has the greatest chances of speedy implementation, and which will be most effective in reaching immediate and long-term goals of improving the economic situation.

Jiri Vasko, CTK: In connection with what you said at the beginning of this press conference: How do you evaluate present statements by Mr Walesa, who is supposed to be one of the chief participants in roundtable talks?

Urban: You have asked something impossible of me in view of the fact that Mr Walesa makes various statements almost every day. That is why I would have to give an entire lecture in order to take a stand on all his statements.

I think, for example, that L. Walesa's two interviews published by the Polish press—TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, REPORTER, and KONFRONTACJE—could indicate that L. Walesa has given thought to many issues and is willing to reach accord. On the other hand, I could argue with some of his views. Although the spirit of accord dominates in his statements, I recently got to know of an interview which he gave for the Western press and in which certain tones sound unpleasant. I think that L. Walesa will make most reliable statements at the roundtable meeting, during which he will receive the fullest answer, expressing our views about his views.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Apparently, Lech Walesa is a politician who believes in accord and struggle, and hence the duality of his views. But my question is: Do the authorities intend to register the Independent Association of University Students?

Urban: All the present and future requests for registration will be considered in line with the principles I have spoken about; that is, it has to be established whether the activities, program, and statute of a given organization are compatible with the constitution and status of its university, and whether it is a student and academic organization.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: The September debates in the Sejm revealed that there exists a premier's decree which obliges ministers to implement the resolutions adopted by the PZPR leadership.

Recently, General Jaruzelski said that the times were over when the Politburo could issue detailed instructions for the government to fulfill. Is the premier's decree of 22 October 1987 still in force? Are there any plans to rescind it? Will the public be informed?

Urban: I do not know of any such decree. I do not remember any, but I know the tenor of such documents. It is a usual practice that, when Central Committee holds plenums on various matters in which government policies are involved, the government draws up and publishes a working plan for its policy and for the undertakings connected with what is termed in such an ugly way—the realization of plenum resolutions.

I assume that this procedure will be changed in some ways, but I do not think that the existence of such plans should be regarded as an impropriety of party-government relations, because when a plenum is devoted to housing matters, for example, the plenum discussion produces a useful potential of various ideas and proposals, and it is only natural that the government should adopt a position on these ideas and proposals in the form of decrees, instructions, and other activities.

Franco Quintano, ANSA: I am hard put to understand why the authorities and the press continue to treat Mr Walesa as a private citizen. After all, Lech Walesa is still in the news. You have also spoken several times about Walesa here. There has been a slip of the tongue with regard to Walesa. But I cannot understand why he continues to be regarded as a private person.

Urban: A private person is not an official person. In Italy there must also be private persons who receive great press publicity, although they hold no offices and have no formal positions in public life. There is nothing derogatory in describing someone as a private person. This term just emphasizes that Mr Lech Walesa holds no office.

Yousef Mah'd, Wafa: I am pleased that you have at last let me speak.

In answering colleague Bobinski's question you have used the term multilateral accord. How are we to understand that term? Did you have in mind an international conference? I will have two other questions to ask.

Urban: First, let me tell you that it is a rule in this hall that any journalist who wants to ask a question is entitled to ask it. We do not put any time limits on these press conferences. Nor do I leave this hall as long as I can see that someone is raising his hand to ask a question. I would like to stress this principle because I could feel a

note of regret in your voice, even though it is not I who lets anyone speak. I have noticed that misunderstandings have somehow been occurring here recently.

Yes, I had in mind a multilateral international conference on the Middle East situation. Poland has been supporting the concept of such a conference for a long time now.

Yousef Mah'd: What did Minister Olechowski and Mr Peres talk about?

Urban: It so happens that foreign ministers hold many meetings at every UN session. Polish and Israeli ministers have met again—certainly not for the first time, but I do not know exactly for which time—at this UN session. I still have no report on this most recent meeting, but I can assume that they talked about international relations that are of interest to the two sides, especially the Middle East situation.

Yousef Mah'd: Mr Rakowski was appointed premier a week ago. Is there going to be any change in Polish foreign policy?

Urban: The basic lines of our foreign policy are fixed, but foreign policy is also subject to evolution and modifications. Please wait for the programmatic speech to be delivered by Premier Rakowski, who will certainly stress that our foreign policy will continue as now. However, it will be significant to see what stress he places on individual issues and what he has to say on various matters connected with Poland's foreign policy.

I am really unable to predict what the premier will have to say in the Sejm.

Michal Broniatowski, REUTER: I would like to know how far preparations for constructing a nuclear power station near Darlowo in the maritime area have progressed.

Urban: I have no relevant information on this subject. We will inform you.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Could you tell us about investigations into the death of Lieutenant Turbakiewicz?

Urban: The voivodship prosecutor in Tarnobrzeg is continuing his investigations with the help of an operations-investigations group of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

So far, 161 persons have been interrogated and many forensic tests have been carried out.

Because of fundamental contradictions in the evidence given by some eyewitnesses of that death, these witnesses underwent lie detector tests, which have made it necessary to carry out further verifications.

The circumstances under which Lt Turbakiewicz was removed from the area of the Stalowa Huta steel works have been established. These circumstances show that, despite the earlier evidence of some witnesses, Lt Turbakiewicz was removed by force.

The investigating organs continue to expect people to help them in establishing the circumstances of that tragic case.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET, Finland: Could you confirm that a Christian-Democratic Club has been established? If so, can you comment?

Urban: I am aware that such an organization has been set up in an academic center. There are many clubs in existence in this country. Some dozens of Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs are in existence. I do not know which club you have in mind, but I do know that more and more Catholic-type clubs are being established in Poland.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Has Premier Rakowski had time to ask you whether you will continue to act as government press spokesman?

Urban: He has not talked with me about that on behalf of his office. He has more important talks and issue to which to devote his attention.

Evelina Maitret, Mexican Television: Have you had any new information about the investigations to be carried out by the prosecutor into the fact that Mr Onyszkiewicz was questioned by the U.S. Senate.

Urban: The matter is at present under investigation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, because the interest of the prosecutor's office in that case was based on press reports about what Janusz Onyszkiewicz had said in the United States, and about where he had made speeches there. But the thing is that, as the experience of these press conferences also shows, press reports about people and their speeches on various occasions and in various places are not always fully reliable. That is why the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been charged with establishing the facts.

But no matter how this case develops, it is necessary to stress that there is something strange in the fact that a Polish citizen lets himself be officially questioned on Polish affairs by the authorities of another state. Onyszkiewicz acts as a collaborator of the state authorities of another country, undergoes questioning on Polish subjects, and says things that, if he really said them, can be evaluated as contrary to the interests of his own people. For example, the point at issue is his statements which, as the press asserts, discourage U.S. Congress from developing economic cooperation with Poland at this time and without any conditions.

Please imagine a similar situation in which the Polish Sejm commission questions a U.S. citizen who dislikes the policy of his government and asks him questions about his views on President Reagan's social and taxation policies so that, on the strength of his answers, Poland can shape its relations with the United States. Servility toward the authorities of another state and using a foreign power in order to strengthen one's own position in the internal policy of one's own fatherland was and is at odds with Polish political morality. It is also at odds with the formulation "independent communities" and gives them a thoroughly ironic character.

Patricia Koza, UPI: If it is true that Onyszkiewicz spoke in Congress and said the things in question, has he committed a crime against a specific Polish law? What law?

Urban: I do not know. This issue is to be decided by the prosecutor who is an authority on such matters. The government spokesman is not such an authority.

Students Hold 'Information' Rallies

LD1110190588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 11 Oct 88

[No video available]

[Text] Students held rallies in some higher education institutions. They were organized by activists of the former Independent Student's Association, NZS, who assured that they would be aimed at conveying information on the situation in the academic milieu.

Further on Rallies

LD1210010688 Warsaw PAP in English
0024 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct, 11—Student rallies and demonstrations took place today at some Polish universities. In an emotional and excited atmosphere the participants put forward demands concerning, among other things, the widening of the autonomy of higher schools, the development of student self-management, and pluralism.

These matters, which were subject of animated discussions particularly in the recent period in the academic community, student organizations and associations and were undertaken by the appropriate authorities, were accompanied by politically demagogic slogans and postulates ignoring the social and political realities.

The rallies were staged by their organizers not accidentally now, at a time of particular significance for the entire nation and country, on the eve of the important meeting of the Sejm (parliament), and before the "round-table" meeting.

Methods were employed which do not serve the process of agreement and do not serve public peace which is so necessary today. The organizers lost their sense of gravity, common sense and responsibility.

Priest Views Roundtable Preparatory Talks

AU0710132488 Warsaw PRZEGŁAD KATOLICKI in Polish 2 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with Father Professor Bronislaw Dembowski, participant in the meeting on roundtable talks, by Tadeusz Karolak: "Before Talks"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Karlak] What was the subject of the meeting on roundtable talks?

[Dembowski] The 16 September meeting was a continuation of two previous meetings between General Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa, which were attended by fewer participants and which led up to the most recent—the third—meeting. General Kiszczak was host, and Lech Walesa faced him from the other side of the table. Other participants included advisors, representatives of the OPZZ and of other trade unions not affiliated with the OPZZ, Solidarity trade union activists, and representatives of the Catholic Church. It is natural that subjects of the meeting held by such people are difficult. But what we must stress is the very fact that such a meeting was held at all. The meeting demonstrated that the social movements and communities which produced Solidarity in 1980 continue to be vital and important groupings. The discussion at the meeting focused on the performance of state and public life, the acceleration of the development and modernization of national economy, and the shape of Polish trade unionism. The unofficial motto of the meeting was what someone cleverly formulated as the need to ensure that the structures of our state be further purged of Stalinism. Genuine workers were among the participants at the meeting. I was greatly impressed by the way they made their speeches and their high intellectual virtues.

The meeting inspired me with the hope that future talks could result in pluralism. The world continues to work for pluralism, and the existence of societies that believe in a single ideology and a single party has become impossible. It is high time to introduce a new model of public life in which unity in multitude should be at least one notch above uniformism.

[Karlak] What do you think about the OPZZ's familiar stance on trade union pluralism?

[Dembowski] I do not want to disclose what was said at the meeting, except that fears, motivated by economic considerations, were expressed about the introduction of trade union pluralism. But voices could also be heard saying that one should not go against the grain and close eyes to reality. Other arguments I heard were that production plants should not become areas of political

struggle. Both sides were united on that point. The task of roundtable talks is to produce political pluralism as well as political associations and clubs—these would channel aspirations of those who are interested in politics and who would like to influence our public life and the performance of our state.

[Karlak] The communique on that meeting is laconic, innervatingly laconic. After all, that meeting was one of the most important events, if not the most important event in Poland. Our people, who are a crucial element of all present events and are witnessing them, have only a scanty knowledge of the discussions in question. This reminds me of the communiques that official propaganda feeds us.

[Dembowski] I think that the communique is really laconic. Nevertheless, its simple formulations contain a profound substance. The thing is that the sides agreed not to disclose the details of their discussion. Please believe me—the meeting was one of the most important in the past period and has created a chance for all of us.

[Karlak] But our people have received no guarantee at all. We continue and will continue to ask for the guarantee that accord will be achieved with the participation of our society represented by an independent faction. Our people continue to wonder whether, aware of dramatic reality, the authorities are able to hear the voice of the people.

[Dembowski] It seems to me that they are able. Yesterday's meeting seemed to indicate that.

[Karlak] Some people think that authorities want to win support without changing what is crucial to the life of our society.

[Dembowski] All speakers at the Friday meeting spoke like true men, but they also stressed that everything needs time.

[Karlak] But our people are impatient and mistrustful...

[Dembowski] I realize that our people are mistrustful as a result of their experience in the past few years and actually of the entire postwar period. Governing teams continued to come and disappear and to assure everyone that life would be better, but our life is still what it has always been, as everyone can experience every day and as everyone knows from comparisons with those Western countries whose economies were not so long ago—at the end of the last war—as backward as our economy was. We realize that people are impatient and continue to flee to the West en masse, which is an extremely sad phenomenon.

[Karolak] Why is the date for the next meeting, the one that will inaugurate roundtable talks, set for as far away as mid-October? We thought that, as announced, that meeting would be held in September. Is this an attempt to soften up, or to withdraw?

[Dembowski] Everyone thought that the roundtable meeting should be inaugurated as soon as possible, but independent communities must have a little more time to digest the subjects already discussed and to recruit experts who would share in the work of the working groups which will be proposed by the roundtable meeting.

[Karolak] You and Father Director Alojzy Orszulik act as observers of the Catholic Church.

[Dembowski] Yes, we have been delegated as observers by Jozef Cardinal Glemp, chairman of the Polish Episcopate's Conference.

[Karolak] Both of you are very experienced in conducting talks with government, party, and opposition bodies. That is why you will certainly be able to correctly do your work.

[Dembowski] We hope so, too. I think that it is very important that we be able to contribute to those talks our knowledge of the church's social teachings. Everyone knows that the Episcopate takes the view that it is necessary to carry out political and socioeconomic reforms and that workers should have the right to set up trade unions that suit them, which means the church is in favor of trade union pluralism. It is common knowledge that many millions of workers in state enterprises do not belong to the official trade unions and that opportunities must be created for them to organize themselves in their own way. We hope this will be possible.

[Karolak] As observers, do you have the right to take the floor?

[Dembowski] We have not been told whether we may speak. We decided to merely listen to the debates, although Father Orszulik made a brief speech. I think that our presence was important and was noticed.

[Karolak] Was there any voting?

[Dembowski] No, and I do not think that anything of the kind will be done in the future. Roundtable participants must achieve a consensus, because this is the essence of the exercise.

[Karolak] What was the atmosphere of the meeting?

[Dembowski] Surprisingly good, and almost no mention was made of the sorry past, although it was a meeting between people who had been interned and arrested at one time and those who ordered that internment and arrest. But now they were sitting at the same table. That Friday they really talked with one another. This fact was

extremely encouraging and showed that Poles are able to reach accord. Important talks were also held in corridors during breaks. Everyone realized that there was a chance for them to take and tried to take it.

Olechowski on UN, Disarmament, U.S. Ties
LD1110182588 Warsaw International Service
in English 2230 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski returned to Warsaw yesterday from UN Headquarters in New York, where had been heading the Polish delegation at the General Assembly debate, and from an official visit to Colombia. Mr Olechowski was interviewed at Warsaw international airport on his arrival.

[Begin recording] [Benny Lutkiewicz] You said in a public statement that a new tone, a new climate, are evident in the United Nations. Minister, what do you have in mind?

[Olechowski in English] It was my first contact with the United Nations as the minister of foreign affairs and I may tell you that the impression was very good, because, first of all, of the general atmosphere. All the ministers present (?were) very much in favor of the achievements of the United Nations, of its role, which they play in the actual political world situation; of the role of the Secretary General Mr Perez de Cuellar, of the Security Council. [passage indistinct]

[Lutkiewicz] [passage indistinct]

[Olechowski] Certainly I have been asked by several of my colleagues, ministers of foreign affairs of different countries, about (?Poland's) problems, about certain difficulties which our country had and still has, but I think, and this is my deep conviction, that the reactions of my colleagues, after having heard my explanations, were very positive ones, very favorable ones, and 33—34 even—meetings I had with different ministers of foreign affairs of different countries helped them to understand better not only our actual situation but our aims, how to overcome the difficulties, and the atmosphere very wishful to help Poland to overcome those difficulties. [sentence as heard]

[Lutkiewicz] Do you think that there will be some offer of assistance for which Poland has been looking now for some time?

[Olechowski] We didn't discuss any detailed offers of assistance but the fact that the dialogue in Poland is going on, that the round table conference is approaching, has provoked enormous interest in our Polish internal affairs, and I may say a declaration of rendering help and assistance to Poland.

[Lutkiewicz] You drew the attention of the United Nations yet again to the Jaruzelski plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in Central Europe. What support do you find for that plan now?

[Olechowski] You know, the question of disarmament, the question of the CSCE in Vienna, was one of the main subjects which has been raised by the different speakers at the United Nations General Assembly. Most of these people, most the ministers, they did express its conviction that within the next few weeks' time, perhaps the end of October if not the beginning of November, the CSCE will be finished, its mandate will be approved, and the countries of 23 members of the two alliances will start working; will start working on the very important subject: conventional disarmament. And here the Jaruzelski Plan will play (its) important role. This has been confirmed by many interlocutors of mine during my bilateral conversations with them.

[Lutkiewicz] Some of your interlocutors were high ranking American political personalities, including State Secretary Shultz. You also talked with Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance. Are Polish-American relations on the mend?

[Olechowski] I think that the period of certain tendencies to isolate Poland by some of the political forces—also in the United States—is over. And I think that most of the political personalities, both those being today at the top of the American administration, but also those from the former administration, they show very, very strong interest into Polish affairs, and I may say also very real, to bring those relations to the normalcy and to assure them positive development for the future.

[Lutkiewicz] Minister Olechowski, thank you very much indeed. [end recording]

Report on Visit to Colombia

LD0710223988 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Bogota, Oct. 7—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski ended today his official visit to Colombia, during which he was received by President of Colombia Virgilio Barco Vargas. During the meeting Olechowski renewed, on behalf of the president of the Council of State, an invitation to pay a visit in Poland. The president accepted the invitation expressing his readiness to visit Poland next year.

Minister Olechowski called on President of the Senate Ancizaro Lopez. The two stressed the favourably developing cooperation and frequent contacts between both countries' parliamentarians.

Foreign ministers of both countries, Tadeusz Olechowski and Julio Londono discussed the state and prospects for the development of Polish-Colombian relations and exchanged views on current international problems.

Minister Olechowski briefed his counterpart on initiatives undertaken by Poland and Warsaw Treaty states aimed to decrease tension in Europe, giving special attention to the plan on decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe, presented by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Minister Julio Londono made an evaluation of the situation in Latin America and presented efforts on the part of states from that region aimed at peaceful solving of conflicts in Central America. Both ministers expressed support for Polish and Colombian activities and initiatives. The two favourably assessed progress in Polish-Colombian relations in recent years, especially in the political dialogue and in the cultural, scientific and technological exchange.

According to them, there are further possibilities for broader turnover and for economic cooperation. These questions were the subject of detailed talks between Minister Olechowski and Colombian Minister for Economic Development Carlos Marulanda and with Minister of Mines and Energy Oscar Mejia.

The Colombian side expressed its interest in the development of cooperation and taking advantage of Polish experiences in the field of coal mining and in the continuation and expansion of cooperation in the field of land and maritime transport facilities. Minister Olechowski also met with top representatives of the Federation of Coffee Growers.

U.S. 'Senior Official' Cited on Polish Economy

LD0710214188 Warsaw PAP in English
2040 GMT 7 Oct 88

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, Oct. 7—PAP correspondent in Washington referred to the statements of a senior U.S. State Department official concerning the active U.S. policy on socialist countries in Eastern Europe, especially Poland, and asked what he could, as a representative of President Reagan's administration, tell Polish people who face radical economic reforms, economy restructuring, at the moment, that is a process which inevitably entails social costs combined with self-denial.

The official replied that there are no simple solutions in Polish economic situation. The Polish economy is in a bad condition and cannot be cured with easy, quick solutions. He expressed a view that the process of economic efforts would be very long but the only method to cure the Polish economy and improve the living

conditions of the Polish nation involves fundamental reforms. He stressed that carrying out so radical reforms in Poland would require courage and sacrifice on the part of the whole nation.

The senior official of the U.S. Department of State drew attention to fact that the process of depreciation of production means, and ageing of factories had taken place in Poland. Heavy industry still prevails while its products are strongly competed at world markets and the demand for them declines, especially in the field of steel and mining industry production.

An improvement of the economic and material situation of Polish society necessitates expansion of light and consumer goods producing industry but this will also be a time-consuming process, he said, adding that greater hopes for quick production development can be associated with Polish farming.

The U.S. State Department senior official voiced the opinion that the whole process of changes, restructuring, and transformations in Polish economy will require greater economic freedom, removal of the limitations gripping it, measures dictated by market requirements, and also an unrestricted shaping of prices and wages, and stimulating new investment, including foreign investment.

He also drew attention to the fact that the Polish programme for radical reforms and structural changes in the economy would have little chances for success if not supported by the whole Polish nation.

Asked by TRYBUNA LUDU's Washington correspondent about his evaluation of changes which have recently taken place in Poland, the State Department senior official said that these changes, in his opinion, are positive. They point to Polish authorities' readiness to hold dialogue with the church, Lech Walesa and his people, and with other representatives of Polish society. He voiced the hope that these talks can lead to a defined participation in the parliament and Polish Government of representatives of all social groups.

The U.S. State Department representative stressed that the United States attaches great significance to the round table talks. He added that this is a development of major significance to the economic, social, and political future of Poland.

Whitehead-Genscher Talks Highlight Polish Economy
LD1010031788 Warsaw PAP in English
2253 GMT 9 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, Oct. 9—The U.S. deputy secretary of state, John Whitehead, before opening his tour of East European countries here today, met with West German Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Wiesbaden.

A spokesman of the FRGs Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that the development of political and economic situation in Poland was the central topic of the two politicians conversation.

Genscher came out in favour of increasing aid for Poland, indicating at the same time that the hitherto conditions posed by the IMF for Warsaw needed to be revised.

Further on Official Visit Mongolia's Batmonh

Meets With Malinowski

LD0810141788 Warsaw PAP in English
1349 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 8—General Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party CC, also chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic Jambyn Batmonh, who is now on an official visit of friendship in Poland, today paid a visit to Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski.

The two highly evaluated the state of inter-parliamentary contacts, stressing their role in developing the all-round relations between both states.

Signs Prospecting Agreement

LD0810162688 Warsaw PAP in English
1555 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 8—The official part of the Polish visit by Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party General Secretary Jambyn Batmonh ended today. In the morning the Mongolian guest, who is chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, paid a visit to Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski.

As they talked, they stressed the beneficial role of parliaments in the efforts for the cause of peace consolidation, detente, and international cooperation. In this context Malinowski informed his guest about the preparations for a conference of European, U.S. and Canadian parliament leaders which is scheduled for November, this year. Jambyn Batmonh spoke about the initiatives of the Great Hural aimed at the reinforcement of peace in Asia and the Pacific.

The guest invited Roman Malinowski to pay an official visit in Mongolia next year at the head of a Polish Sejm delegation. The invitation has been accepted with pleasure.

Today Polish and Mongolian Governments signed an agreement on prospecting for mineral raw materials in Mongolia which is another agreement contracted on the basis of a general agreement on geological cooperation between both countries signed in 1981. The present document sets the principles of joint exploration of rare minerals deposits on the area of 1,300 square kilometres in the Gobi Desert.

In the afternoon, the Mongolian leader was seen off by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski at Warsaw's Okęcie Airport, where a special plane took the Mongolian delegation to the city of Wrocław, southwestern Poland.

While in Wrocław, the Mongolian guests toured the "Raclawice Panorama", a local key tourist attraction.

Holds News Conference

*LD0910232188 Warsaw PAP in English
2103 GMT 9 Oct 88*

[Text] Wrocław, Oct. 9—Today the general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, Jambyn Batmonh, accompanied by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC secretary, Marian Orzechowski and deputy foreign affairs minister Jan Majewski visited the old town here and the Wrocław University where the Mongolian leader was presented with the university's commemorative medal.

Jambyn Batmonh also toured the lower Silesian fishing combine, a breeding farm and a fodder factory.

During a press conference organized in this southern Polish city the MPRP CC general secretary said that the most important point on the agenda of his visit was his meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski.

"During our talk, which was a continuation of the discussion which we had with Wojciech Jaruzelski two years ago in Ulaanbaatar, we exchanged views on how the Polish and Mongolian nations are practically realizing the resolutions of the latest congresses of our parties. We also exchanged experiences, we spoke about successes but also about difficulties, about our attitudes to the renewal and socio-political transformations taking place in Poland and the Soviet Union, as well as in other socialist countries including Mongolia, about the development of democratization in public life and about other issues. We also spoke about the most important international issues. I can say that our opinions are convergent," Batmonh said.

Speaking about Mikhail Gorbachev's latest peace proposal presented in Krasnoyarsk, Batmonh said that in his talk with Wojciech Jaruzelski it was said that Poland and Mongolia highly rated this proposal because it was of great importance for the strengthening of peace in the world and especially in Asia and the Pacific region.

"We hold the opinion that this latest proposal made by Gorbachev is to a great extent connected with the programme put forward by him two years ago in Vladivostok, as well as with the declaration signed in Delhi," Batmonh added.

Elaborating on this issue Batmonh also said that there are many disputable issues in Asia and the Pacific

region. He added that everything possible must be done so that they are solved by peaceful methods alone.

"This is why Mongolia, which strongly supports all peace initiatives concerning this part of the world, also wishes to make a real contribution to the cause of strengthening world peace. Mongolia speaks out for the development of good-neighbourly relations with all countries in the spirit of the peace proposals made by Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk," Batmonh said.

Evaluating the aid of Polish experts for the Mongolian economy Batmonh said that this cooperation covered virtually all areas of life and had long standing tradition.

Mongolia's Sodnom Congratulates Rakowski

*AU0610120788 Warsaw TRYBUANA LUDU in Polish
3 Oct 88 p 2*

[Telegram of congratulations from Mongolian Premier Dumaagiyn Sodnom to Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski on his election]

[Text] To Comrade Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, Warsaw.

Esteemed Comrade Rakowski. Allow me to send you warm congratulations on your appointment to the post of chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

The government of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] will continue its efforts to further develop the relations of friendship and close cooperation between our countries—for the good of the Mongolian and Polish peoples and for the sake of peace and socialism.

Esteemed comrade premier, with all my heart I wish you health and great success in your highly responsible work, serving to consistently implement the policy of Polish society's socialist renewal.

Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers.

Minister Gwiazda Attends Moscow CEMA Meeting

*LD1010140488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1300 GMT 10 Oct 88*

[Summary] In Moscow the 129th CMEA executive committee meeting has started. "The Polish delegation is led by Wladyslaw Gwiazda, the Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation."

Citizens Advised Not To Go to Algeria

*LD0710184988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] Here is a communique: In connection with the unrest which has recently been taking place in the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recommends that Polish citizens refrain from travelling to that country until there is a normalization of the situation.

SCINTEIA Summarizes Ceausescu Moscow Visit
AU1110214888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
7 Oct 88 pp 1, 6

[Al. Campeanu article: "A Contribution of Great Significance to Strengthening Romanian-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] The official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union paid by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, marks an important event in the rich chronicle of Romanian-Soviet relations, and opens up new prospects for developing friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU, and between our countries and peoples even more vigorously. The particular cordiality shown, the progress of the visit on the whole, the talks that were held in an atmosphere of warm friendship, comradely sincerity, and mutual understandings, and the conclusions that could be drawn on this occasion have demonstrated both the lasting Romanian-Soviet friendship with long-standing and rich traditions, the upward trend of cooperation at various levels between the two countries and peoples, and their common desire to give a new impetus to their bilateral relations and lend them an ever richer content, thus demonstrating the feelings of esteem and respect, and of militant solidarity harbored by the parties and peoples of the two countries for each other. At the same time, both in Moscow and Bucharest, the sides once again emphasized the decisive role played by the summit meetings and talks, which have marked new openings in the development of relations between the two parties, countries, and peoples on the whole.

Recalling the development—throughout the years—of the traditional Romanian - Soviet relations, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said at the official luncheon in the Kremlin: "During the talks we held today we jointly noted that there are extensive opportunities to ensure, with joint efforts, an even more vigorous development of collaboration and cooperation between our parties and countries in the interest of the growth of socialist construction in Romania and the Soviet Union, and of the general cause of socialism and peace." In the same sense, when summing up the results of the current talks and emphasizing that they are a continuation of those begun a year ago in Bucharest, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that during these talks "yet another important step has been taken on the road of intensifying cooperation between our parties and of strengthening the ties of alliance between our socialist states."

The meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, as well as the talks between the two delegations were an opportunity to brief each other about socialist construction in Romania and in the Soviet Union. The importance of the exchange of information in this area is

especially important since, as is known, efforts are being made in various socialist countries to perfect the political, economic, and social activity with a view to asserting the values of socialism more vigorously. Setting out from the fact that the construction of the new system is taking place under different conditions in each country, the sides emphasized that in the process of perfecting socialist construction and of eliminating certain things which no longer correspond to the new realities, great responsibility rests with the Communist and workers parties, which, as leading political forces, are called upon to ensure the application of general laws to specific conditions and peculiarities in keeping with the requirements of each stage and in conformity with the modern achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and human knowledge.

In this context, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented a rich image of socialist changes in Romania, particularly in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress that marked a stage of profound renewal both in the area of economic and social life and the creation of a comprehensive system for the assertion of revolutionary workers democracy; he also described current concerns with resolutely implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference to ensure our constant progress on the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. In turn, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized the intensive activity carried out in the USSR to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the all-union conference aimed at the masses' political and social activation and at increasing the efficiency of the socioeconomic activity in all areas.

During the talks, the two sides once again emphasized the truth that the greater the successes of each socialist country, the greater its contribution to increasing the strength, attraction, and prestige of socialism in the world; they also stressed that the achievements attained also constitute the material foundation for constantly developing cooperation between states that are building the new system.

In this spirit, emphasizing with satisfaction the upward trend of relations of cooperation between their parties and countries, the two sides expressed their common determination to continue to intensify Romanian-Soviet cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other areas on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and international solidarity.

During the official talks, particular attention was devoted to developing Romanian-Soviet economic cooperation. The sides emphasized the need to intensify efforts aimed at implementing the long-term program for economic and scientific-technical cooperation up to the year 2000, as well as the particular importance of ensuring, on mutually advantageous bases, the requirements

of energy, raw materials, fuels, and modern machinery and equipment. In this sense, within the framework of talks between the prime minister of the Romanian Government and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, specific measures were established aimed at increasing and diversifying material commodity exchanges between the two countries and at intensifying production specialization and sharing through promoting new and modern forms of cooperation.

The summit dialogue also reaffirmed the common desire to intensify cooperation in the scientific-technical area. During the talks occasioned by the working meeting between Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the government and chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, and party and state leadership cadres and leaders of scientific bodies of the USSR, tangible ways and means were established to implement these understandings. As was emphasized within this framework, the scientific-technical potential of the two countries offers broad opportunities for expanding cooperation in this area, including by creating joint research collectives in order to introduce the most modern achievements of the scientific-technical revolution into the production process.

At the same time, Romania and the Soviet Union attach great importance to perfecting the activity and cooperation within CEMA in order to contribute to the progress of each national economy, to bringing the levels of development of its member countries closer, and to improving the well-being of their peoples. In this context, the sides affirmed the principles position held by our party and state according to which cooperation within CEMA should not result in the creation of supranational bodies and copying other models, but, in the spirit of a new concept, should give an impetus to the affirmation of relations deriving from the very essence of socialism, and ensure the development of the national economy of each socialist country.

During the talks, particular importance was attached to developing relations of friendship between the RCP and CPSU, in the belief that these relations play a decisive role and exert conclusive influence on the development of Romanian - Soviet relations in general. For this purpose, the sides agreed to expand contacts at various levels, as well as exchanges of experience. At the same time, ties between parliaments, between local bodies of state power, and between mass and civic organization will also develop.

The exchange of views on developments in the international situation emphasized the need to vigorously affirm a new way of thinking and to consistently promote the new principles of interstate relations. In this spirit, the sides pointed out some positive tendencies in the international arena, which were given concrete shape primarily through the conclusion of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate- and

Shorter-Range Missiles and through the steps taken on the road to solving regional conflicts by political means. At the same time, moving from the profound contradictions that persist in the international situation, once again the sides emphasized that the basic issue of today is the achievement of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensuring peace. As was stressed during the talks, of great importance in this respect is the conclusion, as soon as possible, of an agreement on a 50 percent cut in the strategic nuclear weapons of the USSR and the United States. Efforts should be intensified to the same extent to achieve a comprehensive disarmament program aimed at eliminating all nuclear weapons, halting nuclear testing, banning the militarization of outer space, eliminating chemical weapons, and drastically reducing conventional weapons. Romania and the Soviet Union reaffirmed their determination to work to implement the proposals made by the Warsaw Pact countries in connection with conventional disarmament. Similarly, the two countries are also determined to work toward the conclusion, as soon as possible, of the Vienna meeting in order to achieve the great desideratum of achieving such an atmosphere in Europe as will permit all nations to develop freely and independently, without any outside interference, and promote broad cooperation among all nations.

Within the framework of the numerous issues discussed, the Soviet Union reaffirmed its support for Romania's and Bulgaria's proposals on turning the Balkans into a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons and on creating such zones in the north and center of Europe, and in other areas, something that would contribute to the affirmation of detente, understanding, and peace.

The need to intensify efforts in order to solve conflicts in various parts of the world by political means and negotiations, the need for all countries, irrespective of their size or social system, to participate in solving the problems on which peace and progress depend, and enhancing the role of the United Nations in international affairs are further major aspects of the summit agreements.

The analysis of the situation in the world economy emphasized the need to organize an international conference to work out measures aimed at eliminating underdevelopment, including solving the problem of foreign debts, in order to ensure favorable conditions for the progress of all nations.

During their talks, the RCP secretary general and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary emphasized the need to strengthen cooperation among the Communist and workers parties and also stressed their determination to develop cooperation with those parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, and with all progressive and realistic sociopolitical forces that are working to ensure the peace, freedom, and progress of all peoples.

The Communists and all our people welcome with satisfaction the results of the official visit of friendship paid by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to Moscow, as well as the results of the visit, in the belief that the understandings arrived at will develop Romanian-Soviet friendship and many-sided cooperation even more in the interest of the work of building the new system in the two countries, and to the benefit of the general cause of socialism, peace, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

PEC Contemplates Domestic, International Matters

Soviet Visit Discussed

AU1110202188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1918 GMT 11 Oct 88

["High Appreciation of the Results of the Romanian-Soviet Summit Dialogue"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 11/10/1988—During the 11 October meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu read an account of the official friendly visit he paid together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu to the Soviet Union over 4-6 October at the invitation of the CC of the CPSU and of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the activity carried out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu during the visit, of the way in which he set forth, during the talks, the stand of the Romanian party and state on the many-sided development of the ties between Romania and the Soviet Union, as well as on current questions of the international political life—stand that fully accords with the orientations and resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress and of the National Conference of the RCP.

The Executive Political Committee underscored with satisfaction the productive results of the talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which, through the understandings covenanted, open new prospects for bilateral relations, going down as an outstanding contribution to the continuous strengthening of the traditional links between the two parties, countries and peoples, in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance. In context, stress was laid on the significance of the measures set during the visit to intensify cooperation in production and production specialization, increase and

diversify goods exchanges, in consensus with the provisions of the long-term programme, until the year 2000. Important understandings were also covenanted as concerns the intensification of technical and scientific cooperation, by setting up joint research teams in a number of domains of great importance for the economic and social growth of the two countries included.

The Executive Political Committee also pointed to the importance of the exchange of opinions Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev had on the course of the world political life, the international communist and working-class movement, when the determination of Romania and of the Soviet Union was reiterated to strengthen their cooperation internationally, to work, alongside the other socialist countries, the progressive, democratic forces everywhere, for disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for a pacific, negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues, for the establishment of a climate of detente, security and peace, of understanding and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

Unanimously approving the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee requested the government, the ministries, the other central bodies and institutions to take all the measures needed for the best carrying into effect of the understandings covenanted at top level, which ensures the more powerful development of the Romanian - Soviet cooperation on multiple planes.

Berlin Meeting Discussed

AU1110202088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1915 GMT 11 Oct 88

["Approval of the Romanian Parliamentary Delegation's Stand at the Recent Berlin Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 11/10/1988 - During its 11 October meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP discussed the activity of the Romanian delegation at the meeting of the speakers of parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty participating states recently held in Berlin.

In that framework, the Executive Political Committee approved the stand of the Romanian delegation that did not accept the proposal made by the participants in the meeting to create "the European Parliamentary Council," considering that, in the present conditions, it is necessary not to set up new parliamentary organisms—which, the way they were conceived, would acquire a supranational character—but to develop the already existing forms of collaboration which proved their utility in practice. Romania's determination was restated to work in future, too, to expand its relations on a parliamentary line with the other socialist countries, with developing countries, with all the states of the world

to make this way, too, an increased contribution to the promotion of the policy of peace and disarmament, of security, confidence and collaboration among peoples.

Energy Issues Addressed

AU110201988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1900 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 11/10/1988—Gathered on 11 October under the chairmanship of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Nicolae Ceausescu the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP examined and approved the programme for the ensurance of energy production, the rational utilization of electric, thermal energy and natural gas and the working conditions of economic and social units this winter.

In keeping with the provisions of this programme, the Executive Political Committee requested the ministries and the local party and state bodies to take firm measures so that electric power plants should operate at capacity and supply energy at planned levels to the end of a proper course of activity in economic units, in all areas.

It was set that in a industrial enterprises, with or without around-the clock activity, steps be taken for an appropriate organization of shifts, of technological flows with a view to reducing electric energy consumption and strictly observing the approved consumption norms which shall be considered as maximal.

Trading, learning, health, sociocultural and administrative units shall have adequate working hours so that energy consumption should be as low as possible.

As for individual end-users and other categories of small-scale consumers, the need was stressed that all citizens most economically use electric energy.

As regards the population's consumption of electric energy, at the proposal of Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the Executive Political Committee approved a number of measures concerning the increase of the set energy consumptions and the reduction of some of their tariffs. According to those set, the annual energy consumption is increased differentiatedly by number of rooms and the number of persons in a family by 18-to-25 percent in urban areas and by 17-to-25 percent in rural areas.

As for tariffs it was decided that the current 0.65 lei/kwh tariff be maintained for all increased set consumptions.

Tariffs lower than the current ones are to be applied for what exceeds the new set energy consumptions, with an improvement of the conditions in which these tariffs are applied.

In connection with all these measures it was decided that a decree the State Council be drafted.

Next, the Executive Political Committee debated and approved the proposals regarding the anniversary of 70 years since the foundation of the Romanian unitary national state, an historic act that crowned the Romanian people's century-old fight for unity and independence, and paved the path for the development of the Romanian nation, for the attainment of all Romanians' old dream to live united within the frontiers of the same country, in a unitary, free and independent state.

Citizens' Letters Condemn Hungarian Media

AU0710202588 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 5 October on page 5, under the headline "We Condemn the Violation of the Principles and Norms of Good Neighborliness," carries three letters, between 300-800 words long, by Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality who condemn the "anti-Romanian, anti-socialist, and slandering attitude of the Hungarian radio, television, and press."

The introductory passage to the three letters reads as follows: In connection with certain tendentious, denigratory, and anti-Romanian attitudes which have been noted of late in Hungary, the SCINTEIA editorial office has received letters from working people in which they express indignation and condemn these attitudes.

In response to their justified request to broadly publicize their opinions and desire to voice, in this way, their complete adherence to our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy, we will publish some of these letters, beginning with today's edition.

In his 300-word letter entitled "Against Calumnies," Alexandru Veraszto, worker at the Arad railroad car enterprise, writes: "We were very glad when we learned about the results of the meeting that took place in our city between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Karoly Grosz. We thought a chapter of the history of Romanian-Hungarian relations was closed, that our neighbors had finally decided to put order into their own home, and that they would no longer permit various anti-Romanian and anti-socialist elements to slander us on the radio, television, and in the press."

The 700-word letter by Albert Kiss, director of the Tirgu Mures "Metalotehnica" enterprise, entitled "'Theories' Out of the Rags Heap of History," emphasizes that "the rights and duties that we, the Hungarians in Romania, have are not greater or smaller than those of the other citizens in Romania. Regardless, assuming that our rights were harmed—which is a completely absurd notion—it is not Budapest that is called upon to come to our defense. It should be clear for everyone: Romania's policy is decided in Bucharest!"

In his 800-word letter entitled "We Do Not Permit," Alexandru Nagy, chairman of the Rosiori-Bihor agricultural production cooperative, criticizes "some radio and television programs in Budapest" for "sowing discord." He emphasizes that "it is a shame to pretend not to be aware of or to see that in Romania citizens of Hungarian nationality are promoted without any discrimination if they are capable of holding a given position." He also stresses "no one should dare call for discord among the population of another country, an independent and sovereign socialist country, because we will not permit this." He concludes by saying "we will not permit this, because we are a united people."

Romanian Charge d'Affaires Said Murdered
AB0810115688 Paris AFP in English
1154 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Dakar, Oct 8 (AFP)—The badly-decomposed body of Romanian charge d'affaires in Senegal Alexandru Galdea has been found at his country's embassy here by local authorities, police said Friday [7 October]. Police said they believed he had been murdered early last month and had arrested another Romanian, Alexandru Dimitri, representative of the Romanian automobile firm Dacia, as the suspected killer.

Investigators found Mr. Dimitri had had an argument with the charge d'affaires over his time off, after which he remained in the embassy building, leaving only to ask neighbors for food and preventing all other staff going inside. Because of diplomatic immunity, which also protects Mr. Dimitri from prosecution here, police were unable to enter the embassy until a visiting Romanian delegation arrived. They then found the diplomat's body and Mr. Dimitri hiding in a car.

The suspect has been hospitalized pending his return to Romania, police said.

Soviet Embassy Holds News Conference
AU1010195888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
6 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] A press conference was organized at the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest. It was attended by editors of the central press, radio, television, and of the Romanian news agency AGERPRES, as well as by foreign press correspondents and attaches accredited to our country.

The significance of the measures put forward by the 30 September CPSU Central Committee plenum and the 1 October USSR Supreme Soviet session was emphasized with a view to implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Olteanu Receives PAP Director General
AU0710201788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1930 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 7/10/1988—Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received on October 7 Bogdan Jachacz, director-general of the PAP Polish news agency, who visits Romania.

On the occasion, they discussed aspects of development of the exchange of information between the Romanian and Polish news agencies, in the spirit of the fine relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples.

While in Romania, the guest had talks with executives of the Romanian news agency AGERPRES, toured economic, administrative and urban objectives in Bucharest and in the counties of Calarasi, Tulcea and Constanta, where he met with representatives of local party and state bodies.

Dailies Examine Dizdarevic Address to Nation
LD1110121588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1150
GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic addressed the nation on Sunday evening in the name of the state Presidency, appealing for reason and particularly directing his address to the country's leaderships, the Belgrade daily BORBA said today.

Recalling that Yugoslavia's state Presidency president directly addressed the nation for the first time in eight years, the daily set out that the leaderships have long ago used up the people's unreserved confidence.

"A new political consensus between the leadership and the people, on which the appeal undoubtedly counts, may succeed only if the leaderships show that they have recognized themselves in the appeal," BORBA said.

Yugoslavia must radically raise all questions of its everyday life and its future if it does not want to face the continuation of the old or destructive elements, BORBA said.

The current leaderships, in many ways bureaucratized, cannot raise the questions without undergoing serious personnel changes, BORBA said.

"The state Presidency president's appeal for reason and patience can yield certain results only on condition that the leaderships primarily comprehend it as a short-term credit, which must be paid back in daily installments", BORBA said.

Raif Dizdarevic's speech caused the Zagreb daily VJESNIK to write that the state has finally awoken and that it should be kept awake to defend the interests of the community and its people.

The daily attaches importance to the economic questions raised in the speech, maintaining that they had been put aside under pressure from the unrest caused by the escalation of political dissatisfaction.

In the speech, VJESNIK sees a stronghold for ending the discussion on constitutional amendments and translating the adopted economic concepts into practice.

VJESNIK noted that forces exist in the country which are still opposed to market economy. The determination to modernize the economy and its achievements on an international level requires that Yugoslavia do away with all these misconceptions.

VJESNIK said Dizdarevic's speech showed the Yugoslav leadership's determination to direct the social energy in that direction, not only to end the situation in which the police has been activated, but also to speed up the implementation of the development changes.

Further Reportage on Titograd Protest Rally

Leadership Responds to Demands
LD1110153588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1952 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Titograd, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the SR of Montenegro and the Presidium of the Montenegro LC Central Committee this evening announced the conclusions they adopted today in connection with the demands made during a protest meeting of workers, citizens, and students, held in Titograd on 7 and 8 October.

The two leading bodies assessed that the principal demands made by the workers and students at the protest meeting were a result of the economic crisis in the country, considerable decline in the living standards of citizens and workers and in particular of the exceptionally difficult material and social position in which the majority of work organizations in Montenegro and, by implication, the republic's economy had found themselves.

The two bodies deemed the principal demands made at the protest meeting justified, and in essence, constructive and in line with the struggle to enhance brotherhood and unity of all our nations and nationalities, to carry out deep social reforms and to resolutely crush counter-revolution in Kosovo, and to secure a free existence for Serbs and Montenegrins in the province. The working people and citizens support the constitutional changes aimed at providing the SR of Serbia all the attributes of a state. They are justly calling for cadre renewal in Yugoslavia and Montenegro at all levels, from work organization, municipality, and the republic to the federation.

Proceeding from the justified principal demands, the republic's political leadership endeavored to establish direct contacts and hold talks with the workers and students who made the demands, the document of the conclusions states. Proceeding from their feeling of responsibility and their political duty to heed such meetings and workers' demands, Vuko Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council of the SR of Montenegro; Borivoje Drakic, president of the Titograd LC Municipal Committee; Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Nenad Bucin, member of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference; Radovan Radonjic, member of the LCY Central Committee; Bozina Ivanovic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro, and others went before

the workers in an attempt to make known, clearly and openly, their views on workers' protests and the demands made during the meeting.

Proceeding from their firm commitment to contribute to the efforts to bring about political stabilization in the country and especially to resolve the problems of Kosovo, to more decisively implement the reform of the economic and political system and of the LC with the aim of speeding up the pace of pulling out of the crisis and in the light of the overall potentials of the republic, the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro and the Presidium of the Montenegro LC Central Committee, reached the following conclusions:

1. The Presidency of the SR of Montenegro and the Presidium of the Montenegro LC Central Committee will inform the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro and the Montenegro LC Central Committee within the next few days about the situation created by the protest meeting and will in this way prompt the organs that elected them to assess their work and to raise the issue of confidence in them.

The same obligation rests with other organs and organizations in the republic as well as with the relevant organs and organization in municipalities.

2. Proceeding from the assessment that the development of events during the protest meeting in Titograd on the night between 7 and 8 October threatened to disrupt public peace and order and the constitutional system with possible consequences for personal safety and safety of socially-owned property, the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro decided to initiate urgent measures to remove the need for the introduction of a state of emergency. The public security organs acted in line with this decision and their legal powers.

The assembly of the SR of Montenegro will decide if the internal affairs organs acted throughout in accordance with the decision and their legal powers. [passage omitted including conclusions 3-7 on the economic situation in the republic, planned measures to improve living standards of all strata, employment measures, and the decision not to raise electricity prices]

8. In connection with the demand to examine the status and financial and property position of emigrants from Albania now living in Yugoslavia and of those living in Kosovo, in particular, the last session of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber raised the issues of the number, status, and financial position of Albanian emigrants in Yugoslavia. The chamber has asked the relevant organs to prepare replies to these questions and to inform both delegates in the assembly and the public about them. The Montenegro leadership will insist that these issues be tackled by federal organs. [passage omitted: conclusion 9 on the issue of a chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly]

10. Despite the fact that the relevant organs in the SR of Serbia have neither constitutional nor legal duty to make known their views about changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia—this being the matter of concern for the Assembly and other relevant organs in the SR of Serbia and the provinces—the attitude of Montenegro and its relevant political and state organs has been clearly formulated in a document containing the Montenegro LC Central Committee's standpoints, which was subsequently published for public scrutiny. Representatives of Montenegro in the SFRY Assembly's constitutional commission assumed an unambiguous standpoint on the proposed constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and support the solutions aimed at strengthening Serbia's state functions.

The existing shortcomings and weaknesses which indicate a lack of uniformity in the system of information in the country and especially in some environments were also evident in the coverage of the meetings that took place in Montenegro. The Presidium of the Montenegro SAWP Republican Conference has recommended that relevant organs of the SAWPY Federal Conference examine these developments as well as other issues concerning the activity and the ideopolitical influence of the media at the current social juncture. The Presidium placed particular emphasis on the duty of the media and press organs in the republic founded by the Montenegro SAWP Republican Conference to promptly carry out an analysis of their work, assess their own mistakes, define the level of accountability of individuals and inform the Presidium on it. The Presidium will inform the public about the accountability measures it intends to take.

The Presidency of the SR of Montenegro and the Presidium of the Montenegro LC Central Committee stress that in formulating their concrete answers and proposals they have been restricted by the exceptionally difficult economic and social situation in the republic which they have to take into consideration as a limiting factor.

This is the reality of which we all, down to the last worker and citizen in Montenegro, must be deeply aware. We must all be aware and admit that at all levels, from organizations of associated labor to top party and state leaderships, including our two bodies, there are shortcomings in the work. Communists and the working people of Montenegro must bear in mind the fact that there will be no solution of the present difficulties if we wait for someone else to resolve them for us or if we continue with resistance, disunity and discord throughout the country.

The time has come for all of us to wake up. Today we all, from the working people and citizens and especially members of the LC to all other social organs, bear a historic responsibility for the situation in the republic and the destiny of our country and revolution.

We must direct all our forces toward persevering in implementing the reform of the economic and political system and the transformation of the LC. We must concentrate on our work and heighten responsibilities because the problems will be resolved only by increasing production and income, better organization and pooling labor and resources with economies in other republics and provinces and in this way create fundamental preconditions for the further development of socialist self-management, the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro and the Presidium of the Montenegro LC Central Committee state in their conclusions.

Situation 'Calming Down' 11 Oct

*LD1110165088 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 11 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—The political-security situation in Montenegro is calming down. After 4 days of protest rallies and gatherings in which several tens of thousands of workers, students, and high-school youth took part—demanding, in the first place, an urgent solution to the pressing economic and social conditions in the country and the republic and that the authors of the present unsuccessful socioeconomic policy be called to account—the situation is gradually returning to normal. People in Niksic and Titograd, where the greatest outbursts of workers' discontent have occurred, have returned to their daily routine. Normal production at the construction machinery plant, Radoje Dakic, was resumed yesterday afternoon.

The metalworkers of this oldest industrial complex in Titograd, at a rally held in the factory's yard just before the machines were switched on again, made an appeal to the Montenegro and Yugoslav working class. They asked for, at this difficult moment, a crucial effort in carrying out production and other tasks, in preserving the constitutional order, resolving the Kosovo drama, and strengthening the socialist self-management, brotherhood, and unity of all our nations and nationalities.

At the same time, they also repeated their justified demands regarding the need to quickly overcome the socioeconomic crisis, made at the rally held in front of the Republican Assembly's building, but, in the same breath, rejected all hostile and destructive messages heard at this rally.

The workers of the Boris Kidric iron works in Niksic acted in a similar way. The smelters of this 7,000-strong industrial complex, the largest in Montenegro, returned to their blasting furnaces as early as yesterday—eager to compensate for losses resulting from the 2-day strike as quickly as possible.

Production also resumed in all other major work organizations in the republic after rallies were held in support of demands for the most urgent resolution of the pressing

problems in society, for differentiation in all state and political leaderships, and for the final showdown with the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

Writer's Group Condemns Violence

*LD1010211088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 10 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Following the events 2 days ago in Montenegro, the administrative office of the Association of Serbian Writers today issued a statement expressing disagreement with the policy of using violence in such circumstances. The office called for respect for the people's democratic right to express its will.

Crisis of Nationalities Persists in Serbia

Milosevic Addresses Problems

*AU1010202088 Vienna PROFIL in German
No 41, 10 Oct 88 p 64*

[Unattributed interview with Serbia's party chief Slobodan Milosevic: "Coming To Grips With the Albanians"; date and place not given]

[Text] PROFIL: How could the problems in Serbia be solved in your view?

Milosevic: Through unity. This has always been the weakest point in Serbia. Discord has accompanied us through all our history. With this card we always lost even though we had all trumps. What good were reason, courage, determination, heroism, readiness for sacrifices, and persistence, when we quarreled at the decisive moment? We have to come to grips with this unfortunate political tradition if we want to persevere as a people. Our fate depends on our unity. Our unity only depends on ourselves.

PROFIL: Some say that Yugoslavia is indifferent toward Serbia.

Milosevic: This indifference toward Serbia has existed in the LCY for quite some time. If it did not exist—this indifference—the problem of Kosovo would not have emerged. However, this indifference only exists in the leadership, not among the people.

PROFIL: The birthrate in Kosovo is very high. Where may this lead?

Milosevic: It may lead to the definite emigration of Serbs and Montenegrinians from Kosovo. I am convinced that we will come to grips with Albanian nationalism and that the Serbs and Montenegrins will stay in their country and that those who have left and want to come back will be able to do so.

PROFIL: If these areas (Kosovo and Vojvodina) are not states, why is there a quarrel about security, defense, and foreign policy issues?

Milosevic: In my view, this is because parts of the leading bodies in these areas want them to become states in the near or remote future. But they do not dare say so directly, because this would irritate other citizens in Serbia and in the other republics. Therefore, they attempt to gain rights that will split Serbia into three independent states. If we accept this calmly, the Serbs will be the only people in the world who agree without physical coercion to live in three separate states.

Government To Assist Internal Organs

*LD1110181288 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1717 GMT 11 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has instructed the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs to lend direct professional assistance to the internal affairs organs of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo—hit by a wave of Albanian separatism—and to do this especially in the field of protecting the security of citizens and property, it was announced in Belgrade today.

This is one of the measures proposed at a recent government session by a commission of the federal minister of internal affairs, set up to look into the activity of the internal affairs organs of the Kosovo Province in the protection of freedoms and rights of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

The six-member commission was set up after measures taken by the provincial internal affairs organs to prevent and suppress all forms of attacks on and threats to the security of Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo failed to produce satisfactory results.

In the Kosovo Province, the attacks on personal security and property of Serbs and Montenegrins constitute one of the basic forms of the activity of Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

The commission has established that since the beginning of 1986 until the middle of this year, the provincial internal affairs organs received reports on 1,119 offences of threatening the personal security and property of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, 784 cases of physical assault, maltreatment, bullying and disturbance, 67 threats etc. The commission also said that members of the Yugoslav People's Army and their family members in Kosovo are also being attacked and disturbed.

The commission established that the responsible provincial organs for the most part failed to react to reports and complaints by Serbs and Montenegrins either because of incompetence or poor organization, or because of opportunism, bureaucratic alienation, nepotism, corruptedness or nationalist bias of individuals.

This attitude was also greatly influenced by the lack of control by higher authorities and tolerance of the adverse situation displayed by the political leadership of the province over a long period of time.

Leadership Issues Statement

*LD1110110088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 10 Oct 88*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Today the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee considered the current political and security situation and described it as being characterized by vigorous activity aimed at suppressing counterrevolution in Kosovo and carrying out changes in the constitution of the SR of Serbia in order to overcome social problems.

A large part of the detailed statement issued after the session is devoted to criticizing the letter of support sent by the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee to the Presidium of the Montenegro LC Central Committee. This letter was assessed as a condemnation of Serbia and was received with great indignation. The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium expressed their firm belief that communists in Montenegro would resolve their existing problems successfully and supported the justified demands by the workers and citizens of Montenegro for a way to be found for pulling out of the crisis.

The following is the text of the statement:

The Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee today considered the current political-security situation in the SR of Serbia within the framework of the overall situation in the country. They also discussed the leadership's tasks in the continued social action aimed at overcoming the crisis for the purpose of the brotherhood, unity, and stability of Yugoslavia.

The two bodies noted that the current political situation in Serbia is characterized by the following main elements:

First, a vigorous activity to suppress counterrevolution in Kosovo and to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. Second, activity aimed at changing the constitution of the SR of Serbia with the aim of settling the unbearably hard social problems in the republic, which are a result of the shortcomings in the present constitution.

These two political problems whose resolution has been delayed for far too long have had a serious negative effect on the stability in not just the SR of Serbia but also in Yugoslavia. All working people and citizens in our republic saw the resolution of these problems as inevitable and as correctly eliminating the state of persecution, unsustainable from the historic and human aspect, of

Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and the totally unjustified removal of powers from the SR of Serbia over its entire territory. The resolution of these issues is undoubtedly of greatest importance for the unity and stability of the entire Yugoslav community.

In efforts to resolve the issues of Kosovo and of the constitution, the SR of Serbia has achieved the highest level of political unity of the nations and nationalities, the working people and citizens. This unity has been manifested in the overall support the citizens of the SR of Serbia have given to the leadership's efforts. This support was best reiterated at the mass rallies of support and solidarity in which over 3 million working people and citizens took part. [passage omitted]

The position in which the working class has found itself is extremely difficult. In our republic the people's dissatisfaction with their material and social situation is great. The slow pace at which the reform is being carried out and the country's unsuccessful economic policy have affected the position of the working class, which we are trying to improve by taking resolute measures to unburden the economy, to reduce administration, to increase savings, and other measures.

Even under such circumstances, the main characteristic of the political-security situation in the SR of Serbia is the unity between the people and the leadership, because the policy of the Serbian LC and of its state leadership is based on the interests and democratic demands of the broadest strata of workers, citizens, and LC members who are nowhere in Serbia divided on the national basis but who unite on the policy of brotherhood and unity.

At the last mass meeting in Novi Sad the conflict between the leadership and workers and citizens came fully to the fore. Basically this conflict was resolved positively by the resignation of the provincial leadership which pursued a wrong policy on a number of issues (changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, inadequate action against the counterrevolution in Kosovo, separation from the people, a bureaucratic attitude toward the democratically expressed demands of the working people and citizens, and denying the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as an integral part of the SR of Serbia).

In the light of this the relevant organs of Novi Sad which prevented the gathered working people and citizens from following the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee bear specific responsibility for that and for the deployment of a special militia unit in Kikinda with the task of dispersing citizens.

In view of the situation in the SAP of Vojvodina the immediate task facing the leadership is to involve fully the entire membership of the Vojvodina LC and all the working people in efforts to consolidate the LCY's policy in accordance with the democratic demands made by the party rank and file.

At their session today the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium also discussed the current political-security situation in the country especially in the light of the latest developments in Montenegro and of public and political reactions to them. The two bodies support the justified demands by the workers and citizens of Montenegro for a way out of the crisis and express their great confidence that the Communists in Montenegro will successfully resolve the existing problems of the republic's economic development in line with the principles of socialism, brotherhood, and unity.

The Montenegrin nation has its own state and tradition of statehood, which originated from the love of freedom and a long and hard struggle against all oppressors. The Montenegrin nation has confirmed its integrity through its culture, tradition, nation, and state. The tradition of cooperation, friendship, and coexistence between the Montenegrin and Serbian nations is long. They both live in their national states and in their common homeland, that is, the SFRY.

The history of these two peoples is marked by cooperation and common will. This makes the insults directed at the Serbian and Montenegrin nations all the more dangerous, as are the claims about Serbia's alleged pretensions to Montenegro and the Montenegrin people. Something like this is simply not possible and exists only in the heads of those who see as dangerous the cooperation between the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro in tackling the most serious problems of the Yugoslav community, such as the counterrevolution by Albanian nationalists in Kosovo and beyond.

Negation of the Montenegrin nation and of the SR of Montenegro as a state of the Montenegrin people is reactionary and hostile in the same way as are the claims about Serbia's alleged pretensions to Montenegro and its nation. This is an attempt to destroy the unity of the working people and citizens in efforts to suppress counterrevolution and remove its effects in this part of Yugoslavia, which also features in the idea of a greater Albania.

We are aware of the fact that we must be consistent in tackling problems in our own environments, and that we cannot expect others to assume our responsibilities. We are convinced that the Montenegrin people, the working class, and communists will remain loyal to their tradition and historic role and will find in a democratic way all necessary solutions which will be conducive to further developing socialism.

It is a well-known fact that during our life together in socialist Yugoslavia the working people and Communists of Serbia have always given the Montenegrin nation their fraternal support in this.

The letter by the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee, written to denounce Serbia, has therefore been received with great indignation. It reiterates the unacceptable and false claims by some of the Slovene politicians (Smole, Setinc, Dolnicar, and others) which we believed were their personal views and even delusions and which we therefore refused to link with the standpoints of the organs of the SR of Slovenia but with antisocialist opposition which makes its views known via MLADINA, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, and others.

However, taking the events in Montenegro as a pretext for attacking Serbia, i.e. devolving the responsibility for the situation in Montenegro on Serbia, is a crude attempt at sowing divisions in intranational relations.

In its so-called statement of support for the Montenegro leadership, the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee condemns the working people and citizens in both the SR of Serbia and Montenegro and their democratic demands for specific changes in the situation in the country. In the statement, Franc Setinc's opposition to people's gatherings which he describes as "madness," "spontaneous action," "destructive avalanche," and "a euphoric pressures coming from the streets" becomes an official stand of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium.

The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium stress that it should not be allowed that 300,000 workers and citizens of Nis be branded as a "street mob" or that the 200,000 people in Kragujevac or over 3 million people—who in dozens of towns throughout the republic mobilized themselves on the platform of socialism, brotherhood, unity, and Yugoslavia, and who are looking for a way out of the crisis and are not divided on a national basis and do not and will never ask for permission from Slovenia—be called by the same name. Unfounded accusations are being directed at the working people and citizens in Serbia and Montenegro in which they are denounced for threatening the country's constitutional system. In the same way the nations and nationalities in Vojvodina are being accused of jeopardizing the province's autonomy. This so-called support is, in fact, aimed at exacerbating the situation in Serbia and preventing it from constituting itself constitutionally despite the fact that the changes to the constitution of the SR of Serbia have been assessed as being in line with the platform of the congress and the first LCY conference.

The fact that counterrevolution in Kosovo is equally threatening the Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian, and Muslim nations as well as other nations and nationalities and that the borders of greater Albanian include parts of Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia provides the best explanation of why the working people and citizens in this part of the country have identical demands about the way to tackle the counterrevolution. This kind of conduct by Slovenia's political leadership is therefore

unacceptable and, objectively speaking, leads to conflicts between nations. We are therefore forced to say openly that we do not agree with such methods of conduct in relations between two fraternal republics and nations and their leaderships. Despite these unacceptable accusations, the working people and citizens of Serbia will not allow the glorious tradition of our cooperation and common struggle to be jeopardized. In our history nations have always lived in brotherhood and concord despite individual advocates of intolerance and distrust.

For this reason no one who is aware of the fundamental lessons from the past and present of the history of Serbia and Montenegro, unless he is malicious, can attribute to Serbia a desire to assimilate the Montenegrin nation and threaten the statehood of Montenegro. Such ideas were only represented by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists who have acted as traitors against the people both throughout history and today.

No one can disunite the Slovene and Serbian peoples, not even a handful of politicians or journalists who are spreading words to the effect that we should fear Serbia and the Serbian people and are creating anti-Serbian sentiments. Working people and citizens of Serbia will not allow anti-Slovene sentiments to be created in Serbia because of lies spread by some politicians for the citizens, working class, and young with whom they are living in the socialist community of the nations and nationalities on an equal footing.

The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium asked for a detailed report of the competent organs in Montenegro on militant groups and individuals mentioned in the statements to see whether any of them come from Serbia and in this connection take appropriate measures.

Unacceptable slogans and nationalist phenomena at various meetings cannot be an excuse for one's own inability and opportunism with regard to resolving a series of social problems and counterrevolution in Kosovo. One must immediately react to all unacceptable slogans and nationalist phenomena and stop all the exponents of these phenomena.

We are deeply convinced that Montenegro and the working people, Communists and people of Montenegro are capable of resolving the current problems and finding the way of the situation which has befallen them.

The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium stress that they deserve the support of all Communists and working people, members of all nations and nationalities, and the efforts of the most responsible leaderships of Yugoslavia to stabilize the situation in the whole country by intensifying the solution of problems, which would enable all the system's institutions to carry out their role in the further implementation of the policy of the three reforms, which implies a more efficient establishing of responsibility of

all the factors of the system and the exponents of public functions for the present lack of efficiency in the realization of reform tasks, especially the realization of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo, for the purpose of liquidating the separatist and nationalist forces of the counterrevolution as the most acute form in which the social and political crisis facing Yugoslavia is manifested.

Both the Presidency and the Presidium stress their conviction and resolve that democratic guidelines should prevail in seeking solutions for the contradictions in our country and that our progressive and socialist forces should not have to decide between the use of force and the application of democracy.

For this reason it is important that in final preparations for the 17th LCY Central Committee session a sense of joint responsibility for the fate of all our nations and nationalities and for the future of the working class and socialism in Yugoslavia should prevail.

We are especially bound to this by large and mass support for social changes on the part of millions of working people of all nations and nationalities in Serbia for the realization of the socioeconomic reform policy, the equality and brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, final victory over the counterrevolution in Kosovo, the LCY's leading role in our country, socialist self-management, the way out of the crisis, and the stable and democratic development of Tito's Yugoslavia.

Kucan Addresses Joint Party Session

*AU1110221888 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2003 GMT 11 Oct 88*

[Speech by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, at the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in Pristina on 11 October—live]

[Text] I would like to start by supporting Marko Orlandic's approach to this complex issue. He stressed that this complex problem cannot be discussed without realizing that it constitutes a part of our entire grave social situation, that it affects our situation, and vice versa. I also think that it is necessary to acknowledge this at today's session, as well as at the 17th plenum. Of course, I support the proposals he made on behalf of the Presidium regarding finding out who is responsible, because I attended the Presidium session when this conclusion was made. I have been following the discussion and I thought that it is perhaps a pity that a good opportunity for a meeting between not only the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium but also the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium was missed.

This appeared to be even more the case after I heard the introductory remarks because different views on the situation were expressed again. Not only about the situation outside Kosovo and concerning Kosovo, but also about the situation within Kosovo and the Kosovo LC.

The greatest responsibility for these differences lies, in my view, with the Kosovo leadership which in my view should feel most the kind of obstacle it represents to effective action for (?overcoming) these differences. There is no appropriate initiative for overcoming these differences; it is as if all of us, in a way, like these differences or are used to these differences. The consequence of this is an unclear political situation and unclear real dimensions. The consequence of this is the lack of action through the system's institutions, through legitimate, legal institutions of the system and even through the Kosovo LC. Of course, this is providing room for somebody else to feel invited to carry out this action.

I think that the reason for this lies above all in what Vidoje Zarkovic spoke about, namely, that in some communes of the country, some institutions, even in some leading posts there are people who, justifiably or not, bear the burden or are accused of having supported nationalism, separatism, and even counterrevolution for long time. I think that it is necessary to first solve this question, solve the question with the people concerned, of course, not through anathema, but through arguments and through a well-argued, public discussion, because until this problem is resolved, they cannot enjoy our trust and cannot do their job effectively. According to present information, they hold very influential, perhaps crucial, posts in some communes.

Speaking about trust, I of course mean that trust is not present in all parts of our country, which is of course necessary in this situation. One of the reasons for these differences lies in the insufficient readiness to proceed from self-criticism. Successful political and social action is not possible without this. I think that overcoming these differences, the initiative for (?overcoming them) is above all the leadership's task; more correctly, thank God these differences are not God-given, but as long as they exist, they have occurred at the people's wish, and this wish can also change them, it can change all of us. The basic platforms, the basic starting points must be uniform, otherwise the leaderships cannot be leaderships.

In my view, it is important to know what the platform for overcoming these differences is. I think that we must be absolutely clear about this and that we should also stress this at the LCY Central Committee session. In my view, as regards the LCY policy, I think that this can be the platform only of the LCY, because this is a Yugoslav problem, and the interpretation of this policy must be set by the LCY Central Committee, with regard to those points concerning differences in interpretation, or where

something is unclear. In speaking about this I do not want to dispute the right and responsibility of one part of the LCY—I specifically mean the Serbian LC, of which the Kosovo LC is an integral part—to set in motion an initiative in this respect.

In this respect it seems to me that it is necessary and, in my view, it is one of the aims of this discussion to support the proposals prepared for the 17th session, to try to conclude this in some way, if we finally agree as the result of this joint session, and avoid the fate of the 16th LCY session conclusions which were not preceded by such thorough preparation.

In the Presidium, we have achieved unity on these stances, as far as I can remember, except for the assessment of the meetings. Differences of course exist there, for at least in my opinion, these meetings cannot be assessed only according to their goals and not according to the possible consequences that they will leave wherever (?they happen).

Second, I of course proceed from the assessment that Kosovo is a joint problem, and that there will be no results unless political activities are intensified in all the country and the entire LCY, as Comrade Sokolovic said here. I think, however, that we should nevertheless make it clear whether in this approach—that this is our joint problem—we all have equal direct responsibilities, obligations, and opportunities.

I think that the answer must be precise, and in the negative. First, here are the obligations, and responsibilities, and possibilities of Kosovo, the LC of Kosovo; followed by those of Serbia, the SR of Serbia and the LC of Serbia—in this I see the indispensability of the constitutional changes and of our support for the proposed constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia—and then by other parts of our country.

In the range and the division of the tasks, we—I am speaking on behalf of the LC of Slovenia now—have seen the focus of our action in the development of the material foundations of the Kosovo society, in the development of the material production forces, in our contribution to overcoming the overall underdevelopment—economic, developmental, and social—for in our deep conviction this is an important condition for ensuring the fundamental rights of man, the right to life and the right to work. This of course goes along with a demographic policy as a part of the development and social policies.

We tried to carry out this task through intensifying economic cooperation within and outside the cooperation in the fund [for underdeveloped regions]. In 1981 we invested efforts so that the interest of associated labor of Slovenia and Kosovo might find their place in the development plans of Slovenia, Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. These interests have on both sides been

constantly rising. By the end of August this year, Slovenia and Kosovo had 72 self-managing agreements, with (?the physical) value of 215 billion dinars, with the option of pooling the resources to the sum of 113 billion dinars, and of providing over 14,000 jobs. By the end of August, Slovene associated labor pooled 73 billion dinars.

The programs which Slovene associated labor financed through the Federal Fund are located in 17 Kosovo communes. Out of these, 48 programs are in 6 (?developed) communes, and 24 programs in 11 underdeveloped communes. In the developed communes, 28 programs have been completed, and 13 in underdeveloped communes; and 20 programs in developed communes and 11 programs in underdeveloped communes are under way.

Out of all the 72 programs, 30 are based on the income principle, 44 are directed toward exports; 41 programs have been completed, providing 5,200 jobs. We expect that all the programs under way—12 of them—will be completed and that they will provide 5,100 jobs.

It is possible that these data are tiring to listen to. I will not cite any more, although I could. I am obliged to explain why I am talking about this. We have experienced—I do not know, perhaps one can say it most precisely in this way—a condemnation for these efforts. Of course we never expected praise, because we considered it our duty to Yugoslavia, to Kosovo, and to people who live here. It is also in our interest, the interest of our associated labor.

The condemnation was published in NIN on 25 September, in an article, "The Slovene Truth About Kosovo". In a part of this article, there is a statement which is true: that Slovene industry is the oldest and most worn out. It has industrial plant with the lowest increase of productivity of labor, the most expensive labor, and it is normal that its products are most expensive.

I will not consider the exactness of this statement. The initial statement is correct. This economy, however, creates one fifth of the social product of this country. In the structure of income, it is in the second place after the SR of Croatia. It is the only one that has net positive accumulation, as far as I know.

This part of the article concludes as follows, that (?our) products are shunned because they are expensive. It then continues in the sense: they are changing the subject from the economic to the political sphere, and as it seems, they try to gain something through political means, even if they (?clash with) Albanian irredentists, because such behavior may open their way to a new colony, Kosovo, instead of to Serbia.

I will not repeat that nobody in Slovenia ever thought that Serbia is a colony of Slovenia, but I am obliged to say here that this statement—to the effect that we want

to open the way to a new colony in Kosovo—may have fatal consequences in a situation when the contribution for the underdeveloped regions are increased, or rather new calculations are made which increased the contributions by a large amount. I think that this means over 70 billion for Slovenia.

At the moment our republican budget is blocked. In such a situation, with the difficulties that our economy suffers, the structure of this economy and of Slovene society being known, such a statement and such a condemnation initiates many questions: Should one further intensify this cooperation and persist in it? It is known that this does not go without problems. And finally we will again be accused that this is support for the irredentists in Kosovo.

This means that our economic involvement in Kosovo is made to serve Albanian irredentists directly. I do not understand this to mean, and I am far from thinking, so that this is the thinking in political structures, but I cannot understand why there has been no reaction either from Kosovo or from Serbia. Do we understand this wrongly? Should we stop? These are the questions that are being asked.

The third thing I wanted to say something about is the question of the so-called revision of the assessment of the counterrevolution which allegedly was raised in the Slovene LC Presidium. I explained this to the comrades in the Presidium. They accepted this explanation. It was even published. I do not know whether it remained unobserved or it was passed over in silence on purpose. I will repeat it for your sake, and I am sure that the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee will do the same tomorrow.

In our musings, the assessment of the LCY on the existence of elements of counterrevolution in Kosovo was not disputed. The LCY in its stances never reduced the Kosovo problem to a counterrevolution. With precise reasons, certain occurrences and actions falling under this category were defined. Comrade Sokolovic spoke about them here: the slogan Kosovo-Republic, ethnically pure Kosovo, Kosovo joining Greater Albania, and so forth.

This nevertheless is a very complex, a very complicated problem, and the LC therefore never advocated using only means required for overcoming a counterrevolution. On the contrary, everyone at the session advocated a very efficient showdown with the counterrevolution, with the means that such a qualification demands: that the scope be opened for solving the vital problems of the Kosovo people—and these are chiefly economic, social, and developmental problems—along with the clear position, of course, that there is no justification for the lack

of success in bridling these counterrevolutionary activities up to this day, so that they continue to be manifested in such a drastic way on intranational and human relations, in pressure on people, in threats to their life, integrity, and so forth.

There is no dispute about the need for us to also solve other problems in Kosovo that existed there even before what happened in 1981; these are social and economic problems, development problems, demographic, general cultural and civilizational, and other problems, in fact those that are created by the gap between the development level in Kosovo and other parts of the country, and that create a great gap in the conditions of the work and the life of people here in Kosovo and in other parts of the country, not to speak about the position of Kosovo in the technological competition in the modern world, about which Vasil Tupurkovski spoke here, about its position and about the fate and the prospects that the people here, especially the youth, may expect here if this is not overcome.

We have to solve these problems in the interest of the entire country, and had the events of 1981 not occurred, and had we solved the problems efficiently—I listened to Comrade Popovic here, who spoke about the results of a wrong policy; perhaps the results of a wrong policy are also in these problems not being solved earlier—perhaps the events of 1981 would not have occurred. [sentence as heard]

We wanted to draw attention to the alibi offered by this assessment. It could easily be the reason for doing little or nothing, either in Kosovo or outside Kosovo, which is also demonstrated by the results. It is simply incomprehensible that such a difficult assessment, generally accepted and supported, does not result in adequate action and adequate activities. An uncritical repetition of this assessment, and reducing the entire problem merely to the existence of a counterrevolution prevents us from comprehending fully all the dimensions of the Kosovo situation, the Kosovo drama, the drama of Kosovo people, of all the nationalities, of which the counterrevolution is only one dimension, the most tense and the gravest, but certainly not the only dimension. In a way it nevertheless mystifies the entire problem.

Considering the Kosovo events from such a wider angle in no way justifies or defends the pressure by Albanian irredentists, their pressure on people, especially the Serbs and the Montenegrins, their poisoning of the younger generations with national hatred, the endangering of peace and the integrity of the SFRY, not to repeat the assessments that have been stated here.

Such an approach would nevertheless drive (?home to) all the sides, all the structures, including the Albanians—perhaps primarily the Albanians—that repeating that this is counterrevolution and repeating what gives rise to such an assessment is something that is slowly losing its political edge and ability to mobilize. For me, such a

repetition with a serious and profound analysis—I know that objections are possible: Comrade Azemi said here that it is not time for analyses, but correct means and results cannot be expected from a wrong analysis—I mean to say, we need an analysis, proceeding from the results achieved, the actual position, the motives, the causes, the actual involvement of the political forces, of the actual platforms and goals of this involvement in specific problems, of national policy, of the relations toward the SFRY, toward the SR of Serbia, the unity in it, the rights of man, and so forth. [sentence as heard] This would rapidly show the proper situation, unmask verbalism and phrasemongering in our political structures, and unmask the mass manipulations of people with the aim of not changing anything and of preserving the positions in the distribution of social power acquired, the acquired rights, the acquired relations—in short, all the distinctions and characteristics of bureaucratic relations. These things hurt most the people, citizens, regardless of their nationality, make possible the manipulation of the people, and of course also make it possible for the forces of the counterrevolution, the forces of Albanian nationalism, as well as of other types of nationalism, to exploit them.

Here in Kosovo, bureaucracy, lack of feeling, unscrupulous manipulation of people, the way in which their personalities and their basic human rights are treated—which is not characteristic of Kosovo alone, as expounded upon by Tupurkovski when he spoke about the gap between the class and the leadership, which is predominantly a manifestation of this occurrence—has a special force and is one of the basic problems in Kosovo. This has been put at the center of our original party documents about Kosovo, which speak about the occurrence of a bureaucratic counterrevolution.

This changing of the social foundations on which these bureaucratic relations are being retained or being strengthened has not been accorded the necessary attention in political activities and assessments. The attitude toward this problem should probably change radically in the future.

Fourth, in conclusion, in my opinion such an approach is a proper communist approach—which, I repeat, does not prevent but demands all those measures that can and must ensure the right to a peaceful and secure life, safety, and security, things that are indispensable so that the state may function in Kosovo in the fields where it must function, (which also is the aim of) the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia—would end the excuse for opportunism, with all due consideration for what has been achieved, as Marko Orlandic pointed out, the excuse for insufficient and inadequate political work and political actions, and of course also for the insufficiently determined and pursued responsibility.

In my opinion, this is the main problem, along with the problem and the question of what comes after the counterrevolution. Surely we will eventually overcome

it. Do we have an answer, do we have a realistic vision of what comes after? What will we have in Kosovo after the counterrevolution if a kind of political life is not intensified which would create, on the LCY platform, a progressive front of the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others in Kosovo? I think that the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium was the first to formulate a stance on this. Comrades Koljgeci, Zarkovic, in brief, everyone spoke about this. Obviously, we all want this front. It provides a certain support for the way out of the Kosovo crisis, the Kosovo drama. We all want it.

As much as one can see from the report, such a front is not being created or it is arising very slowly.

It will not arise by itself. The initiative of the Communists of all the nationalities is necessary, of Communists who first of all enjoy the confidence of their own people, but who also enjoy the confidence—or can gain it—of other peoples and nationalities with whom they live together. Without this, the mistrust in Kosovo will not be overcome.

This is the most difficult thing. We all know well that once confidence disappears, it is difficult to regain it, or it is never regained.

Therefore, I see no task that is more urgent than the involvement in creating this front within the SAWP. The criterion for the assessment of the work of every Communist should be his involvement in creating this front.

If the front is not created and is not intensified, instead of two peoples living together—or rather, the Albanians on one side and the Serbs and Montenegrins on the other, who often lived one next to the other, or without the other—we shall have two peoples, again the Serbs and the Montenegrins on one side and the Albanians on the other, who will be hostile to each other. This would be the definite defeat of our policy.

Where do we start from? I would say we should start from the experiences of the Kosovo and Metohija communities in which mutual understanding, cooperation, and traditions still exist, which irredentists and nationalism of all kinds have not succeeded in destroying.

I simply cannot believe and do not believe that this no longer exists in Kosovo, that there are no such communities any longer. If I am right, these communities should affirm this practice and these strivings and these efforts, and build on them their political action and confidence. Setinc tried to do this when he was here on assignment as a member of the Presidium. Unfortunately, he was not understood, or he was manipulated by some people of ill intent for the purpose [funkcionalizacija i instrumentalizacija] of a policy which still sees any good news from Kosovo as bad news.

Thank you.

Joint Party Meeting Ends

LD1210044588 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0243 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, October 12 (TANJUG)—A joint session of the presidencies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee and the League of Communists of Kosovo (LCK) Provincial Committee devoted to the current political situation in this restless Yugoslav province closed in Pristina a little before 01:00 GMT this evening. 23 members of the top political-executive organs of the LCY and LCK spoke during the eight-hour session, and the talks on the same topic will resume, as agreed, after the 17th LCY Central Committee session, to be held on October 17.

In a closing speech LCY Central Committee Presidency President Dr Stipe Suvar assessed that the situation in Kosovo today "is the worst expression of the crisis of the ruling bureaucratic relations which are more or less characteristic of the state in the entire country."

The League of Communists, according to Stipe Suvar, acted in Kosovo as a political defender of statist closing, distanced itself from the working class, linking itself to narrow layers of the intelligentsia and political-administrative bureaucracy, which, otherwise, considered themselves to be the messiahs of national rebirth. In such a way, Suvar pointed out, the LCK slid for a long time towards a nationalistic position, becoming insufficiently impervious to it.

The open onset of the counter-revolutionary forces, according to LCY Presidency President Dr Suvar, enabled a long-term closing of Kosovo toward Serbia and Yugoslavia, and that was, as he set out, the basic reason why the counter-revolution in Kosovo has not been defeated yet.

This and other effective measures for putting a final halt to Albanian nationalism and separatism will be discussed at the 17th LCY Central Committee session, to open on October 17, from which a great deal is expected in Yugoslavia.

Wrap-up of Joint Meeting

LD1210040588 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0100 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—One of the stands prevailing at a joint session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency and the Kosovo party Presidency, currently held here, is that the settlement of the crisis in Kosovo and the halting of counter-revolutionary activities by ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists makes necessary cadre changes in the provincial leaderships at all levels, primarily the Kosovo Party Presidency.

The session, broadcast live on radio and television, is the first the Yugoslav party leadership holds with the party presidency of a republic or a province.

It was convened due to the politically aggravated situation in Kosovo where Albanian separatists and chauvinists are using terror against the Serbs, Montenegrins and other non-Albanians with the aim of creating an ethnically pure Kosovo and annexing it to neighbouring Albania.

The session is not attended by Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic, whose absence was excused by a longer duration of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee session that was originally planned.

He was represented in Pristina by Secretary of the Serbian Party Presidency Zoran Sokolovic, who conveyed the demand by a group of Serbian Central Committee members that prominent Kosovo officials Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic should be excluded from the LCY Central Committee because of their responsibility for the situation in Kosovo.

The responsibility of particular Kosovo officials was not fixed at tonight's session in Pristina—this was left to the party leaderships of Serbia and its Autonomous Province Kosovo. However, the Yugoslav Party Presidency pronounced the so-called "measure of warning" to the provincial party presidency, obliging this body to review the responsibility of all its members and local leaderships in provincial administration.

Kosovo Party Presidency President Kacusa Jasari informed the Yugoslav party leadership that the Kosovo provincial committee would in a few days elect two new members and two executive secretaries to the party presidency. Judging by tonight's debate, there is a possibility of even more cadre changes.

Most of the speakers in the debate underscored that the results of the activities of the provincial leadership should not be underestimated. It was set out, however, that these activities were insufficient to put an effective stop to the destructive activities of Albanian separatists.

Jasari and Kosovo Provincial Presidency President Remzi Kolgeci set out that the activities in mobilizing ethnic Albanians were being made more difficult by various off-hand calls of Albanian cadres and various nationalistic pamphlets insulting to the Albanian nationality and culture.

Milan Kucan, Slovenian League of Communists Central Committee Presidency president, explaining the dispute over the alleged Slovenian demand for a revision of the assessment of the counter-revolution in Kosovo, said that the Slovenian leadership believes that various other factors, such as economic (in the least developed Yugoslav province there are 140,000 unemployed), social and

demographic, should be separated from counter-revolutionary activities such as the driving out of the non-Albanian population and the breaking up of Yugoslavia.

According to Kucan, significant activities should be conducted in these fields as well, and, at the same time, "the bureaucratic counter-revolution" which is useful to the activities of chauvinists should be opposed.

It was set out at the session that the differences between the Serbian and Kosovo leaderships must be cleared up, and that the responsibility of the leaderships in Serbia and the federation for the situation in Kosovo should be determined.

Rally for Serbs, Montenegrins in Valjevo
LD1110173688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1720 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Summary] Valjevo, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—About 100,000 citizens from the Valjevo area, from other parts of Serbia, and from Vojvodina and Kosovo held a large solidarity meeting today in Valjevo to express solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Milosevic Closes Serbian LC Session on Kosovo
AU1110170088 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Closing speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, at the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Comrades, allow me to say only a few words at the end of this session.

Our session today was devoted to preparations for the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum. We have been, in a way, preparing for this session all summer—in fact, since the end of the 16th LCY Central Committee Plenum. The fact that the 16th LCY Central Committee session was an open one has enabled communists and the broadest public to see that different views and different attitudes toward the terror in Kosovo are the most important reason why this terror has not been stopped. The same session concluded at the time that this terror was increasing in relation to last year. It is therefore very logical that the public inside and outside Serbia is dissatisfied with the intensified terror in Kosovo and the lack of responsibility for this terror. This dissatisfaction has been manifested publicly, en masse, and intensively. At the same time, this dissatisfaction has been manifested at mass rallies, which are in Serbia most often called meetings of solidarity with rightless Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

It is very clear that people are gathering in the streets and squares because for a long time they have not been able to solve their problems in the way they would like to—through their institutions and at their sessions. They are not striving to make the rallies a common practice, but to

facilitate the functioning of institutions and their leaderships. They do not want them to function haphazardly. Institutions should function in accordance with the interests of those for whom they exist, while the leadership should work in accordance with the interests of those whom they represent.

Citizens have the right to express confidence for their representatives as well as withdraw it if they are of the opinion that the leaders are not representing their interests. The same applies, but to an even greater extent, to the Communists and their leadership. No leadership can assess whether its membership is right or not. The account should be rendered the other way around. Every one of us is accountable to those who elected us. These are the rules that should apply to all parties, especially to this party, which should express the interests of its class as much as possible.

The refusal by some leaderships and some individuals in these leaderships to respect the voice of the public, which is such a clear and widely expressed voice, is not only undemocratic and bureaucratic, but also causes anger. This escalation and its consequences can threaten the security of all of the citizens in the country.

The demands expressed by the working people in Serbia this summer also refer to cadre changes, but not for the sake of changes. They want changes that would facilitate political and economic changes, which would enable us all to live better. The changes, of course, assume that responsibility should be established for economic poverty, for quarreling between the Yugoslav peoples, and particularly for the horrible things happening in Kosovo that other Europeans do not believe are happening. They think we are inventing them.

In this sense, we can assess cadre changes that took place in Vojvodina in the past few days as positive. The recent cadre situation in Vojvodina was one of the biggest obstacles to constitutional changes in Serbia. We all know that constitutional changes must be carried through as soon as possible. They are indeed minimal, but they are also such that they are welcomed as the basis for the social reform we need to implement, especially in order to protect Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins from terror.

Comrades, our society is facing unavoidable changes. These changes, particularly economic changes, as well as political and cultural changes, depend on cadre changes. This is not specific to Yugoslav society. When we opted for reform, for changes, we opted for certain cadre changes, which is to say for the exponents of these changes. These two things go together. We could have done this quickly and relatively easily at the very beginning of our strivings for reforms. We could have done this in a civilized way, had we been lucky. By now we would have been able to provide jobs for our children, increase earnings, and develop our country. Instead, we had a war, if I may say, between the citizens and the

Communists on one hand, and certain leaders on the other hand. This war must be ended in, of course, the interest of the citizens, in the interest of the Communists, and in the interest of all of those who favor progressive economic and political changes. This must be above all in the interest of those who are currently exposed to terror in Kosovo.

I think that this should be the task of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The 17th session should face responsibility for the crisis, and above all, for its epicenter, for Kosovo. This is how the agenda of this session is understood in Serbia, inside our institutions and outside our institutions. This is how we understand this collectively and individually, with anger and without anger, in the leadership and among the people, but in a uniform way. This is for sure.

Municipalities React to Crisis Situation

Stara Pazova Extends Mandate

LD1110163288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—The Stara Pazova LC Municipal Committee last night extended the mandate of its Presidium members and obliged them to establish, within the shortest possible time period, a program of cadre renewal within the Presidium and the Municipal Committee and adopt an operational program and a program of economic policy measures for the purpose of relieving the economic burden of the municipality. Thus this party leadership is the first in the province up to now in which confidence has been expressed to allow it to continue to work in its full composition. [passage omitted]

Novi Sad Veterans Presidium Resigns

LD1110163388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—After a stormy 3-hour debate, the Presidium of the Novi Sad City Committee of the SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans] offered its collective resignation at today's session. At its next session the city committee will adopt a final decision on this. This decision was adopted by majority vote. Five members voted in favor of the Presidium submitting its collective resignation today. Sofija Petric and Bozo Dozet handed in their resignations today. Sofija Petric requested that she stand down also as a member of the city committee of Novi Sad veterans, because she believes that it bears much of the responsibility for everything which is happening in society and to which the veterans should have reacted more energetically earlier.

From among their ranks, members of the Presidium formed a working group which should put together a critical analysis of the work and responsibility of each individual member of the Presidium for the next session of the Novi Sad City Committee of the SUBNOR.

Pristina Committee Postpones Session

LD1010115688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—The LC of Pristina Municipal Committee meeting which was to have been held today has been postponed because, it is stressed in the municipal committee, in view of the serious political situation in the municipality its members and leaders are constantly involved in field work. In a very complex political situation it is surely more important for the activists to be in constant touch with the people rather than to hold a session which has economic developments and a report on the current political situation on its agenda.

Youth Groups Show Solidarity With Protesters

Novi Sad Students Support Kosovo

LD1110173188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—The actions of solidarity displayed by the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are also being joined by those of 27,000 students and working people of Novi Sad University. The Presidium of the University Youth Conference today decided, as a sign of solidarity with students and lecturers at Pristina University who give lectures or attend them in Serbo-Croatian, to organize a 1-hour meeting the day after tomorrow at universities and high schools. At the meeting, they will give their support to the more rapid resolution of the problems in Kosovo.

This meeting is scheduled for 1000, when teaching will be suspended, and at each university and high school, speeches will be made by three representatives: the rector, the president of the youth organization, and the president of the LC conference.

The idea to organize this simultaneous meeting, which came from the students, was also supported by the Presidium of the University Committee of the LC, the rector's office, and all the sociopolitical organizations at the university.

League Opposes Emergency Moves

LD1210044088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0337 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 12 (TANJUG)—The youth of Yugoslavia is decisively against the imposition of emergency measures in Yugoslav society and consider that the extraordinary situations demand responsible and

reasonable conduct from the security organs. This was concluded last night by the youth leadership of Yugoslavia at a special session devoted to the situation in the country.

Recalling the recent repressive measures by the public security forces against thousands of demonstrators in Cetinje and Niksic, the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, the conference Presidency of the League of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia pointed out that, should the repressive means prove to have been unfounded, it would insist on establishing personal responsibility of all those who decided to implement them.

The Yugoslav youth leadership pointed out that legal and repressive means must in each case be implemented only against those who call for violence and act in such a manner. In Cetinje and Niksic, however, this was not the case. The repressive measures were undertaken equally against all those who in the early morning hours demanded the responsibility of the socio-political organizations of Montenegro and Yugoslavia for the grave state in which the country is in.

The Yugoslav youth leadership also submitted a demand, which will be conveyed to all top political jurisdictions and organs of authority in the country, that a clear distinction be made in moral, criminal and political responsibility. Political responsibility, according to the Yugoslav youths' estimation, should be demystified, since it should primarily be determined by a vote of confidence. In such a way, the youth leadership of Yugoslavia believes, the integrity of individuals would be protected and voluntarism in society would be prevented.

LCY Presidium 6 Oct Document Lists Tasks
LD0810180888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium has worked out a proposal of the LCY's immediate tasks and activities in overcoming the unfavorable political, economic, and social situation in the country. The proposal has been submitted for public scrutiny within the framework of preparations for the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. The proposal draws attention to, among other things, problems facing Yugoslavia at the current juncture, including changes in the political and economic system, inflation, social welfare problems, etc. The Presidium insists on the need to speed up work on the ideopolitical, organizational, and cadre transformation of the LCY within the framework of preparations for the 14th LCY Congress. The Central Committee, the document states, entrusts its Presidium with the task of formulating, by the end of November this year, a proposal of the main draft of preparations for the 14th LCY Congress.

The following is the text of the document.

At its session on 6 October 1988, the LCY Central Committee Presidium endorsed a proposal of the LCY's immediate tasks and activities in overcoming the unfavorable political, economic, and social situation in the country. The Presidium discussed the document on several occasions with the presidia of the central and provincial committees and of the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army. It was decided to put the text out for publication in order to enable the public and the LC membership, organizations and organs, to take part—by making recommendations and suggestions—in the preparation of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, which will have this topic as the main item on the agenda. The proposal of the "immediate tasks" has been sent to the members of the LCY Central Committee.

At the LCY conference, unity was reached on the need to carry out deep reforms in both the economic and political system and a democratic transformation of the LC as prerequisites for pulling the country out of the crisis. However, in the aftermath of the LCY conference and especially after the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee, the economic and political situation suddenly started to deteriorate, which resulted in growing dissatisfaction of the working class, the working people, and citizens due to the increasingly exacerbated situation in Kosovo, their weakened material position, and the impoverished economy. The LC and other socialist subjective forces must therefore undertake immediate specific activities to resolve society's key problems along the lines of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the standpoints of the LCY conference. Instead of restricting ourselves on describing the situation, we must insist on a concrete and organized action by all social forces in preparing and implementing the reforms in a consistent and comprehensive way, to fulfill the LCY's standpoints on Kosovo and to call to account those who fail to carry out allotted tasks. Only the broadest efforts and mobilization of the LC, working people, young people, and the intelligentsia within a united front of all organized socialist forces and within all institutions of the self-managing system, will help to successfully overcome present difficulties, carry out a transformation in developing our society, and enhance the country's stability and unity.

With the aim of bringing about a more decisive turn-about in the way the LCY conference standpoints are being implemented and to overcome the unfavorable political, economic, and social situation, the LCY Central Committee sets the following immediate tasks and activities:

1. The Central Committee calls upon Communists in relevant organs of the federation, the republics and provinces, and, above all, in the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council to hasten activities to ensure that comprehensive changes are carried out in the economic and political system, as well as in the economic and development policy, by the end of the year and in

line with the ideopolitical standpoints of the LCY conference. It is necessary to test in practice some of the systemic solutions to help to create conditions for embarking on political reform at the beginning of 1989. The LC will continue to advocate market economy and full observance of economic regulations. It will speak in favor of increasing independence and accountability of economic subjects and of raising overall efficiency in society.

Through its sociopolitical activity the LC must create political conditions and a social climate that will be conducive to economic reform. Communists must be determined in defeating dogmatic and technobureaucratic behavior in their ranks, and in society in general, and to remove all resistance and obstacles to the adoption and implementation of the reform.

Members of the LC in the organizations of associated labor in both industry and social services, in sociopolitical communities, and the entire social superstructure are being called upon to become involved in the efforts to carry out necessary cadre, program, technological, organizational, and other preparations conducive to greater efficiency in economic activity once new economic-systemic solutions are enforced. Communists in the relevant institutions of the political system must insist on harmonization of the standpoints on the unresolved issues concerning the economic system.

2. The Central Committee emphasizes the following as the priority socioeconomic and political tasks and as being crucial for implementing the reforms at the present juncture: halting the rise in inflation and its gradual reduction; revitalizing the economy to ensure continued growth in exports; an urgent and immediate improvement in the economy's material position; and halting any further decline in the standard of living and to improve it as soon as possible. Communists and all other socialist subjective forces must be firm in their insistence that organizations of associated labor, municipalities, provinces, republics, and the federation immediately introduce measures and carry out activities necessary to ensure the fulfillment of these tasks. Current economic policy has to be efficient and flexible; it has to take into consideration the problems and requirements of associated labor and must be in line with the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the standpoints of the LCY conference.

In order to ensure consistent implementation of our economic policy, which came into force after 15 May 1988, it is necessary to conduct a critical analysis of the effects of the measures already taken and establish whether there is a need for additional measures.

Communists and all other subjective factors in organizations of associated labor, and in society as a whole, must take an active and resolute part in the effort to

ensure comprehensive savings and a more economical use of socially owned means and to reduce all, and especially unprofitable, costs.

Communists are being called upon to ensure several things through their activities in all self-management organs and delegate assemblies and in self-managing communities of interests—that the decisions to take the strain off the economy be accomplished by reducing the rate of taxation and the size of contributions; to return to the economy all immobilized funds; to bring both general and collective and especially nonbudgetary spending within the bounds of declared policy; and to reduce state and overall administration. All of the above should be enforced as soon as possible. The relevant organs are expected to regularly inform the working people, and the public in general, about the progress made in these areas and to bear full responsibility for it.

Communists have the task of setting in motion an initiative to reexamine the existing interest rates policy, the system of accounting, and especially the system of revaluation, and to critically assess the credit-monetary policy with the view toward implementing the anti-inflation policy.

It is necessary to consistently carry out programs of financial consolidation of the economy and banks especially in the insufficiently developed republics and the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo, to more efficiently resolve the serious and difficult problems of internal indebtedness, illiquidity, unsubstantiated accounts, deficits, and financial recovery of the economy as a whole.

The Central Committee stresses that organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities must take urgent measures and actions to halt any further decline in real personal incomes, to enhance economic motivation of workers, and to make changes in the law on restricting increases in personal incomes.

In light of the adverse effects of the drought, Communists in the organs and organizations of the federation, the republics and provinces, in municipalities and associated labor, must insist on urgent measures and activities to stabilize production, market, and prices of basic agricultural products and foodstuffs. Without any further delay, we must use subsidies, compensation, bonuses, and other measures to protect the standard of living of the most deprived section of the population. Regular supplies of agricultural produce and foodstuffs must be ensured and major problems affecting the supply of basic foodstuffs removed.

Communists must insist on a more consistent realization of the conclusions on agriculture passed by the LCY Central Committee.

The Central Committee calls upon Communists in the SFRY Assembly and the assemblies of the republics and provinces to launch an initiative to assess and determine, without delay, comprehensively and critically, the responsibility of individuals and of all relevant executive organs and other subjects for failure to take adequate measures and carry out activities to accomplish the goals and tasks of the economic and development policy in 1988 in the areas of inflation and prices, and to carry out appropriate measures including cadre changes.

3. Topical social problems should be tackled more efficiently and the social welfare policy, as a vital element of the development and economic policy and an important factor in the development of production forces and the working people's security, should be consistently implemented. The LCY Central Committee therefore calls on the LC members, organs, and organizations to engage themselves to the full to ensure that municipalities, the provinces, the republics, and the federation and all organizations of associated labor, draw up and translate into practice, in the shortest possible time, realistic, comprehensive, and effective programs of social welfare policy and protection for the working people and citizens. These programs will ensure a consistent observance of the principle of the income distribution according to work results and the implementation of the principle of socialist solidarity and mutual assistance under present circumstances.

Realistic and stable sources of funds must be secured to finance these programs which will be given priority over other needs and will be carried out in line with set criteria.

Communists in the TU Federation, in the Socialist Alliance, and other sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities have an important role to play in formulating and implementing the programs of social welfare policy and protection.

4. One of the most important tasks facing the LCY and society as a whole is the creation of constitutional-legal conditions conducive to an economic reform and a reform of the political system. Proceeding from this fact, the LCY Central Committee will use its 18th session to assess the ideopolitical aspects of the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution in light of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the standpoints of the LCY Conference. At the session the LCY Central Committee will also draw up specific tasks facing Communists in relevant institutions in their future work on settling outstanding issues and adopting the amendments with the end of November as a firm deadline. Tasks of carrying out as efficiently as possible the set solutions will also be formulated.

5. The LCY Central Committee stresses again that a consistent and as successful as possible implementation of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress on the need to enhance unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia is

of vital importance not just for the political stability of the SR of Serbia but also for Yugoslavia as a whole. Contribution to this end has been made by a number of solutions contained in the proposal of amendments to the SFRY Constitution. The ideopolitical essence of draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, which have already been adopted and submitted for public debate by the Assembly of the SR of Serbia, are in accordance with the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the standpoints of the LCY Conference on relations within the SR of Serbia. Concrete solutions will result from the public debate and the joint work within the institutions of the system. They should be arrived at through the constitutionally determined procedure of changing the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

The LCY Central Committee advocates such constitutional changes which will enable the SR of Serbia to carry out its necessary functions of a state and a self-managing community on its entire territory and which will ensure the autonomy of the provinces as parts of Serbia and as constitutive factors of the federation. Communists should favor this kind of the ideopolitical approach during the public debate on the draft of the amendments and should insist on an urgent harmonization of standpoints within relevant institutions—all the more so since the differences are such that they can be overcome through concerted efforts. Communists should make efforts to ensure that the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia are adopted within set deadlines, this being of vital importance for reducing political tensions generated by these differences.

6. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium bear the greatest responsibility for the fulfillment of the following tasks: removing the causes of disunity and especially differences in interpreting and implementing the common policy which exist between the leaderships of the republic and the provinces; the development of ideopolitical and action unit in the LCY; ensuring the functioning and consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, and specify those accountable for failure to implement it; and organizing actions to be carried out in a common way in the entire LCY. In view of this it is necessary to strengthen the unit of the LCY Central Committee, its political authority, and efficiency in action by engaging its members in the efforts to implement the standpoints of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. This involvement is of crucial importance for ensuring the ideological and action capacity of the LCY as a whole.

In line with the policy and principles of democratic centralism, the LC Central Committees, the provincial LC committees, and the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army, have the duty to strengthen the unity in the LCY and carry out all ideopolitical activities necessary to halt unfavorable trends and stabilize the situation in their own environments, and in the country as a whole.

Ideopolitical accountability measures will be meted out to those members and executive-political organs who fail to implement policies of the LCY and of its top organs, and who assume an opportunist attitude to their implementation.

The LCY Central Committee urgently calls upon the central committees in the republics, the provincial committees, and the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army to assess their own activities in and responsibility for implementing the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and developing unit within the LCY. A report on this should be submitted to the LCY Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee has entrusted its Presidium with the task of considering, by the end of December 1988 and in line with the LCY Conference standpoints and in a way and within deadlines set by the LCY Central Committee's operative program, topical issues of the political and economic situation and of the ideopolitical activity of the LCY in the republics and provinces and in the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

In accordance with the demands of the LCY conference for strengthening the ideological and action unity of the LCY and the political authority and the efficiency of the work of the highest organs of the LCY, it is essential to carry out the necessary cadre changes in the LCY Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium and their working bodies on the basis of the united ideopolitical and statutory criteria and the established responsibility of the members of the LCY Central Committee for the realization of the policies set out at the 13th LCY Congress. In doing this it is necessary to take into account an assessment of the contribution to the struggle for the consistent realization of the LCY policies, for the realization of social and economic reforms, the reform of the LCY, LC policies in resolving the national question, the contribution to the struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and the confidence of the LC membership and organizations.

In these changes it is necessary to consistently implement the criteria of the LCY cadre policy on separating the duties of a member of the LCY Central Committee from the most responsible positions in state and executive organs in the federation, republics, and provinces.

In cadre renewal and the election of new members of the LCY Central Committee it is necessary to ensure that in the highest organ of the LCY there are more communists from direct production, scientific workers and other creative workers, and communists from the ranks of the young generation who are prominent in the struggle for social and economic reform and for strengthening unity and the democratic transformation of the LCY, and who enjoy the respect and confidence of the membership outside their own immediate circle as well in the struggle for national equality.

Changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee will be carried out in the way set out in the LCY Statute, adhering to the established procedures and role of the LCY Central Committee, the central and provincial committees of the LC and the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army in the nominations process.

On the basis of assessments of the work and responsibilities of the LCY Central Committee Presidium as a collective organ and of its individual members in implementing the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress, the standpoints of the LCY conference, the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session, and on the basis of an assessment of how justified and well-founded criticism of the work of the Presidium's individual members, and in response to the opinions and assessments which came from the presidiums of the LC Central Committee of the republics and of the provincial LC committees and the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, the LCY Central Committee will, at its 17th session, carry out necessary changes in the composition of its Presidium. These changes are aimed at making the work of this organ on implementing the policy of the LCY and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee more efficient.

8. The Central Committee assesses as its most pressing and most immediate task the organization and acceleration of the work on the ideopolitical, organizational and cadre transformation of the LCY in line with the standpoints of the LCY conference, and as a part of the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress.

The LCY Central Committee requires its Presidium to submit a proposal of the basic concept of preparations for the 14th LCY Congress by the end of November 1988.

In accordance with the standpoints of the LCY Conference, and the proposals and demands made by some LCY organs and organizations, the Central Committee will, toward the end of the year, and depending on the political and economic situation in the country and the pace at which the standpoints of the LCY Conference on necessary reforms in the political and economic system and on the changes in the substance and method of the LCY's work are being implemented, make a decision when to convene the 14th LCY Congress.

The LCY Central Committee will form a commission tasked with preparing main points of departure for transforming the LCY and organizing a thorough research into the method in which the LCY has so far been realizing its role. The commission is expected to submit to the Central Committee proposals by the end of January 1989 for reforming the LCY.

9. The Central Committee is of the view that despite numerous activities on the part of the LCY organs and organizations, the most essential aspects of the situation in Kosovo and of the political-security situation in the entire country have deteriorated since the 16th LCY Central Committee session.

The renewed and increasingly serious worsening of the situation in Kosovo has, to a large extent, resulted from inadequate efficiency, opportunism and other shortcomings in the work of state organs and other institutions of the system and, primarily, from the weaknesses in the work of the LC and other sociopolitical organizations in Kosovo. The LC organs failed to set in motion a broad political action among the working people and citizens, and failed to carry out differentiation measures within the LC and other institutions of the system consistently, in an open and communist manner, or on time. The LCY Central Committee is of the view that the present provincial committee of the Kosovo LC and its Presidium bear most responsibility for the deteriorating situation in Kosovo and for failure to fulfil the LCY Central Committee's objectives in most crucial areas. For this reason, and in accordance with Article 53 of the LCY Statute, the LCY Central Committee is issuing a warning to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium, and calls upon them to examine individual responsibility of its members for the failure to implement set tasks and to take all measures to stabilize the situation in the province as specified by the standpoints of the 13th congress and the ninth LCY Central Committee Session concerning Kosovo.

The activity of the Serbian LC Central Committee and its Presidium, though exceptionally intensified during the period after the ninth LCY Central Committee session, also failed to produce results, primarily due to the differences between the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in their view of the political situation in Kosovo and methods to be used. By availing themselves of their statutory provisions, and on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the organs of the Serbian LC have the duty to take all necessary measures to ensure an efficient implementation of the LCY's policy on Kosovo, to enable the Kosovo LC to act as a part of the Serbian LC, and to make possible a comprehensive integration and development of Kosovo as an inseparable part of the SR of Serbia. These organs must take all measures envisaged by the statute to ensure that the declared policy is being implemented consistently and efficiently. They will be held politically accountable for this.

The LCY Central Committee considers that the LCY Central Committee Presidium bears responsibility for not persisting in creating a climate and conditions in Kosovo for the stances of the ninth Central Committee session to become the basis in all environments for concrete action aimed at changing the situation, and for not acting in time to overcome all the great differences in

the evaluation of, approach to, and solution of the situation in Kosovo, particularly between the organs of the Serbian LC and the Kosovo LC.

The LCY Central Committee, for the reasons stated, is directing criticism at its own Presidium, and is asking it to take all necessary measures and activities for the consistent and comprehensive realization of the LCY stances on Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee is also directing criticism at those of its members who did not once, in the period from December 1987 to June 1988, carry out a tow of municipal LC organizations in Kosovo as they were obliged to. The Presidium will later examine the activity of the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, the committee of LC Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, and the work of Communists in the competent organs and organizations of the Federation in implementing LCY policy on Kosovo, and will adopt a stance on this and submit it to the LCY Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will resolutely and without delay take all necessary measures for the realization of established policies, will guarantee greater coordination in the work of its members, the members of the LCY Central Committee and working bodies of the LCY organs, and their increased activity. Direct involvement in municipal and other organizations in Kosovo will influence the mobilization of LC members, working people, citizens, and young people from the ranks of all nations and nationalities in the realization of established policies.

The entire activity of the LC will, as a priority, be directed particularly in the two following directions:

—Involving all ideological and political forces in the LC and in other sociopolitical and social organizations in widening the united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of other nations and nationalities in Kosovo on the LCY platform, above all within the framework of the Socialist Alliance, which will take energetic action to stabilize intranational relations, to overcome as quickly as possible the mistrust and divisions on a national basis which have taken hold even of the LC itself;

—Guaranteeing, by all constitutional and legal means, the complete legal, security and safety of citizens in Kosovo; their freedom and equality; mobilizing to this end all the forces and organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Yugoslavia, including the even greater joint involvement of the security organs and other state organs in every environment, and particularly in those from which emigration continues and where intranational relations are continuing to worsen; more resolutely continuing the struggle to equip the institutions of the

system, particularly in Kosovo, for the defense of constitutionality and legality, and for more rapid ideopolitical differentiation, including both cadre renewal and the accountability of all exponents of self-managing sociopolitical and state functions on which the realization of these tasks depends, and thereby the more rapid stabilization of the overall situation in Kosovo. Responsibility must be specific and direct, both in the case of failure to carry out one's own duties, and of mistakes by the organ of which one is a member.

10. Communists in the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, the Socialist Youth Federation, and other social organizations must be most active in the struggle for the comprehensive involvement of working people and citizens, for the class revolutionary and socialist self-managing character of political action which strengthens the unity and cohesion of the Yugoslav community. Communists must be in the forefront of those actions which are being set in motion because of the serious situation in Kosovo or other burning issues in society. The basic orientations toward socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, and the other gains and values of our revolution are also being powerfully expressed at numerous solidarity meetings and mass gatherings of working people and citizens which have occurred particularly since the 16th LCY Central Committee session because of the difficult position of Serbs and Montenegrins in particular in Kosovo, and particularly because of the longstanding and unchecked counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian separatist nationalism and because of lack of success in overcoming the socioeconomic and political crisis. This is why the LCY Central Committee is calling on communists and LC organizations and organs to take a lesson for their own action from such meetings, to struggle on a united platform, within the framework of the Socialist Alliance and other institutions of the system, to channel the accumulated dissatisfaction of working people and citizens with the serious position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, so that this dissatisfaction is used as an impetus for action for a determined, effective, and speedier change in the situation.

The messages and demands which working people and citizens are expressing at the meetings, obligates the LC and organized socialist forces to initiate social action in resolving all the complex social problems which are the reason for the mass expression of dissatisfaction.

The LCY Central Committee also notes the presence of excesses and destructive behavior by individuals and groups at these meetings, who are trying to inflame nationalist passions and are acting from antiself-managing and antisocialist positions. The Central Committee calls on communists in such circumstances to oppose any such phenomena, hostile slogan, and any other excess on the spot, and on the competent state organs to take appropriate legal measures against their exponents. The LC and other subjective forces, and particularly the organizers of meetings and protest gatherings, bear the

greatest responsibility for stamping out and uncovering these excesses and for not permitting their escalation which could cause serious political damage and bring into question the very character of individual gatherings.

It is particularly important for the LCY to use political action so that gatherings do not occur which could destroy intranational relations and threaten brotherhood and unity in certain multinational environments and throughout our country. All problems are common to all of us and we can only successfully resolve them together and in unity.

The LCY Central Committee calls on communists to oppose rallies and gatherings of citizens in any part of the country which are not organized by subjective socialist forces, but by individuals and groups who have pretensions and who are trying increasingly openly to set themselves up as an independent political factor, operating outside the established policies of the LCY and the legal self-managing and state organs and organizations, resorting to political pressure, blackmail, and manipulation of people and their feelings in order to achieve their own aims.

11. Individual members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium have already for some time been exposed to public criticisms and attacks from individuals and certain LCY organizations, particularly in some of its sections, with regard to realizing the decisions of the 13th congress and 9th session of the LCY Central Committee, for objectively contributing, as these criticisms cite—by some of their statements, and inadequate, slow, and uncritical evaluation of the situation in Kosovo, and their opportunistic attitudes to the implementation of the stances of the 13th LCY Congress and in particular of the 9th LCY Central Committee session with regard to essential differentiation in the LC Organization of Kosovo—to the weakening of trust, the increase in publicly displayed differences, and the further exacerbation of international relations in Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee considers that public criticisms and calls for the accountability of officials and leaderships, when they are based on argued facts and truths, are a constituent part of democratic relations in our society. In all cases of argued criticism, the organs and forums of the LC, whose members are in question, are bound to set in motion the procedure for establishing their accountability. However, the Central Committee obligates communists to consistently struggle to distinguish justified criticism seeking accountability from unjustified attacks and censoring based on slander, insults and attacks on people's personal integrity, and biased interpretations of public statements by individuals in a section of the information media. The members, organizations, and organs are bound to react energetically to any such unjustified attack and disregard for democratic rules of behavior, initiating specific measures of responsibility against exponents of unjustified attacks and calling for protection from such attacks.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will conduct a debate on the justification of criticisms of LCY Central Committee members and will inform the LCY Central Committee about its conclusions and proposals at the 17th session.

12. In recent years attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito, and thereby also on the achievement, value, principles, and aims of the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution, have increased.

These attacks are, in their essence, reactionary and anticommunist and represent a challenge to our revolutionary past and results achieved; socialist self-management and its emancipatory character; brotherhood and unity and the full equality of our nations and nationalities; the vanguard role and legitimacy of the LCY; and the independent international position and nonaligned policies of the SFRY.

Communists and LC organizations are bound to oppose such attacks with argument, on time, and energetically, in every environment. By expressing the feelings and conditions of working people and citizens, it is necessary that creative workers within the historical sciences, journalism, and public information make their contribution to uncovering the ideopolitical essence and aims of these attacks.

Opposition to attacks on Tito and the revolution should be a constituent part of continuing ideopolitical activity and the struggle of the LC for the comprehensive valuation of Tito's work and our socialist system, its achievements, contradictions, and aims, and the creative development of the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution. To this end inefficiency must also be resolutely removed in implementing the strategic directions of development in society, and the socioeconomic crisis should be resolutely combatted.

13. The LCY Central Committee calls on the membership, organizations, and organs of the LC to conduct a resolute struggle for the realization of the policy of national equality and to offer uncompromising, organized, and united resistance to the growing wave of nationalism in all environments, its penetration into the LC and certain institutions of the system, and the increase in anti-socialist and other anticommunist attacks on our revolution, on the LCY, and on the social system. In every environment where exponents of such attacks manifest themselves and try to legalize their ideology in public newspapers, on certain platforms, in individual committees, and in other forums, the organs and organizations of the LCY and communists in their ideopolitical action should oppose such attacks and expose them through political argument. At the same time, communists in the relevant institutions are obliged to take all measures to incapacitate and eradicate such activities.

14. The Central Committee calls on the members, organizations, and organs of the LC, in accordance with the decisions of the 13th congress and the stances of the LCY conference, to promptly expose and energetically stamp out the increasingly frequent attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection and on the Yugoslav People's defense and social self-protection and on the Yugoslav People's Army as the joint armed forces of all our nations and nationalities.

15. The LCY Central Committee calls on the communists in the public media and in all the public information institutions to resolutely and urgently end the practice of placing the media in the service of unprincipled settling of accounts, manipulations, abuses, and tolerance of other negative phenomena which escalated after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, and which has serious ideopolitical consequences for the unity of the LCY and of the country as a whole.

It is necessary for the entire system of public information to ensure the supply of all-embracing, objective, and prompt information to the public on events in the entire country and also that one-sided and selective information, bias, and sensationalism, unprofessional approaches, privatization, and other abuses of the media are eliminated.

The public media should devote greatest attention to elaborating and implementing the stands of the LCY conference and make their own full contribution to the implementation of basic social goals, economic reforms, reforms of the political system, and to the transformation of the LC, as well as to the efforts of the LC and the organized socialist forces in overcoming the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists in Kosovo and in creating stable intranational relations on the basis of socialist self-management, equality, and safety of all working people and citizens. The communists in public media are also called on to resolutely oppose increasingly aggressive pressures of nationalism and anticommunism and encourage activities and processes which contribute to the consolidation of the unity of the LCY and of our country.

The central and provincial committees and the committees of the basic LC organizations in organs and organizations of the federation in conjunction with the involvement of the basic LC organizations, are committed by the end of this year to identifying negative tendencies and phenomena in the public media, to taking ideopolitical steps for their elimination, and to initiating measures of responsibility.

The LCY Central Committee calls on the Presidium to analyze by the end of the year the activity of the 'KOMUNIST' publishing house and newspaper and take necessary measures for the uniform activity of the 'KOMUNIST' publication in the implementation of the LCY policy.

Government Urges Adoption of 3 Draft Laws
LD1110212088 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1720 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister Branko Mikulic's government will propose that parliament adopt three laws which it considers necessary to the successful implementation of reform, it was announced at today's government session.

The draft law on the Central Bank (National Bank of Yugoslavia) envisages uniform regulation of the monetary, credit and foreign exchange systems throughout Yugoslavia, with the bank overseeing the implementation of the law. The draft law also foresees a new role for the bank governor, who would be authorized to take decisions by himself in the event of the board of governors being unable to reach consensus.

The law on auditing, in the government's view, will bring about a considerable reduction of normativeness and an increase in the independence of enterprises.

The law on labour relationships should improve the position of workers in enterprises and help workers' councils to realise their function more completely.

Mikulic Interviewed on FEC Economic Measures
LD0910141888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic said this evening he is convinced that the causes of inflation will gradually be overcome by the implementation of the economic policy, adopted in May, and of economic reform. The FEC, he said, will submit to the Assembly next week the appropriate proposals which will reduce the cost pressures on inflation. He stressed that in the FEC's opinion the workers' demands for unburdening the economy are completely in keeping with adopted policy, and that the FEC also insists on reducing demands on the income of the economy for sociopolitical communities and self-managing interest communities.

When asked in his Belgrade Radio and Television interview what the FEC is doing to implement the conclusions of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning the May measures, Mikulic said :

The chambers adopted the FEC report and decided to pursue the implementation of this program with some corrections and additions to the measures adopted in May.

While working on the report itself and during out discussions at the FEC sessions, the FEC established the tasks and program—what ought to be done more quickly, and which additional measures should be taken. This is contained in the introductory reports of both

chambers and built into the conclusions of both the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

In the report and in the discussions at the FEC sessions it was noted that very satisfactory results were achieved in the realization of the May program of measures with regard to the sector of economic relations with foreign countries. The foreign exchange market is functioning well, the country's foreign currency reserves have grown, foreign debts are regularly paid, the growth of exports is higher than envisaged, and there is initial progress in imports. It was noted that the economy has begun to react to market demands—stocks, as well as the number of loss-making organizations are falling, the turnover coefficient is up, general and joint production are realistically reduced, which was the aim.

However, we are not satisfied with the implementation of the aims concerning increased production, and we are very dissatisfied with the fact that inflation is rising, which has entailed a decline in real personal incomes. The drought has caused additional problems in our country. As far as inflation is concerned, I would like to say the following: Inflation has been our big problem for more than 25 years. The FEC is convinced that the causes of inflation will be gradually overcome by the implementation of the economic reform adopted in May, and of economic reform. In the last 4 months since the adoption of the May measures this has not happened because of a higher degree of price liberalization. This opportunity was seized by the organizations of associated labor whose prices are formed in accordance with market conditions. Also, intervention import took off only after the adoption of temporary measures, because the republics and provinces failed to give their consent to this import, and there was also a degree of indecision and also some failures in a number of federal organs and organizations. In addition, some producers are excessively increasing their prices to maintain their monopolistic position, and the effects of import liberalization are only just being felt. The accumulated uncovered losses also have an impact on inflation, as well as our high credit balance on the clearing market.

Though specific measures which will have an impact on the reduction of inflation must be taken, in the FEC's assessment the only effective alternative is perseverance in the adopted program and the realization of comprehensive economic reform.

The FEC will submit to the SFRY Assembly next week the appropriate proposals to reduce cost pressures on inflation: Changes will be made in the method of revaluation of these rates by means of the application of a monthly rate of growth of retail prices. [Words indistinct] of revaluation rates at the annual level will be abandoned; revaluation of foreign exchange rates will be examined; provisions on revaluation of stocks will also be changed so that the organizations of associated labor will be allowed to choose whether this revaluation will be

carried out in the present manner or whether it will be done of the negative balance and the investment and working capital; the methods of establishing the discount rate of the National Bank of Yugoslavia will also be changed. The basis for the settlement of interest rates will be the monthly rate of inflation growth; possibilities will be examined for increased interest rates on the compulsory reserves of banks with the National Bank of Yugoslavia. All this should help to reduce the cost pressures in the economy.

In this respect the FEC considers that the workers' demands for the unburdening of the economy—to reduce demands on the economy and expenditure burden on the economy—are completely in accordance with the adopted policy and efforts which the FEC is putting in order to realize this policy.

The FEC also insists on reducing demands on the economy for sociopolitical communities and self-managing interest communities and especially taxes and dues on income and personal income, as well as on returning to the economy a part of realized surplus above the permitted level. We are particularly examining possibilities of reducing expenses from the federal budget and from the extra-budgetary balance.

The social plan, laws, political decisions, and conclusions adopted in the SFRY Assembly established the duties and measures related to increased exports, agricultural subsidies and grants, subsidizing agricultural interest rates, benefits for flour, oil, milk, and so forth; the financial consolidation of part of the economy and banks in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo; special measures for Kosovo in keeping with the Yugoslav program on Kosovo; measures for halting relative stagnation in the development of Serbia and others.

The social plan and special laws regulated: the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], the provision of funds for invalidity and veterans protection and army pensions, and additional funds for the economically underdeveloped republics and Kosovo. About 93 percent of the federal budget has been slated for this purpose, and 7 percent for all the rest (diplomatic-consular service including missions, customs service, flight control, and all the other federal institutions).

We are examining the possibilities of reducing expenditure from the extra-budgetary balance of the federation. The federal earnings, especially those realized through import duties, will be reduced by this amount. I would also like to draw attention to the problem of the YPA's financing, because the secured funds are considerably lower than the fixed level. After the adoption of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution there will be further reorganization of federal organs and organizations, and expenditure will be reduced for the financing of administration.

May I recall that the funds for the federal budget are not secured from income tax and from income and personal income contributions. In this connection I would like to point out once again that the workers' demands for the unburdening of the economy are justified and in line with the adopted policy. I would also like to stress that by this alone we will not and cannot create conditions for the overcoming of economic and financial difficulties in organizations of associated labor. This will not be possible without better use of capacities, reduction in financial and other expenses, increased efficiency in economic activities and enhanced labor productivity, restructuring of production, and changes in the development and business policy. A number of organizations of associated labor have encountered difficulties also because of the fact that there is no market demand for their products. Restructuring of their production is imposed as something inevitable. The brunt of the responsibility is borne by management and self-management organs in these organizations of associated labor. Unfortunately there is less and less discussion on this and all the demands are directed toward the others, toward the external factor and society. This will undoubtedly not take us out of the crisis. On the contrary, it will deepen increasingly, thus jeopardizing the economic reform.

The FEC has already adopted decisions on reducing import duties, but this is not sufficient. We are examining the possibility for their further reduction which is linked with the country's balance capacity.

We will propose the reexamination of joint elements for the formation of prices in economic infrastructure, and that until then prices should not be corrected—or corrected but on a much higher level. At yesterday's session the FEC adopted a decision on the intervention import of meat, oil, sugar, corn, and some other food. An additional \$200 million have been set aside for this. The balance of payments allows us to use the liberalization of imports to help curb inflation.

We are especially involved in reducing credit balance in the clearing area.

As far as inflation is concerned I would like to say that we must all change our attitude toward this evil and become involved in curbing and reducing it.

This next question is: Does the FEC take measures to protect the living standard of the section of the population that is particularly threatened?

Branko Mikulic said: In connection with your question I would say the following: Though the social position of every man depends primarily on his work, much more effective measures of social policy and the protection of the living standard must urgently be taken for certain categories of the population.

In the last 3 months the FEC has provided about 120 billion dinars for subsidies for flour - type 850 (and consequently bread made from this type of flour), oil, and milk. We had agreed with the republics and provinces that as of 1 October 1988 they should secure these subsidies from consumption. However, having further examined this problem we have decided that even in the last quarter of this year the federation should ensure 130 billion dinars for subsidies, and that the republics and provinces should ensure subsidizing funds for these products from production. We have already submitted to the SFRY Assembly an appropriate proposal for the adoption of the law.

In October we would ensure subsidies for producers while in November and December we believe—and we will propose this—that this should be shifted to consumption so that these funds would be directed toward protecting the living standard of the beneficiaries of social security, protective pensions, child benefits, temporary unemployment benefits, scholarships, and other benefits for people with a lower standard. We will propose that in accordance with a suitable criterion these funds be transferred to the republics and provinces, and that this policy be realized there. At the same time the prices of flour, oil, and milk would be corrected and a problem of shortages overcome also protecting the standard of those who are in need of protection.

As early as next week we will submit to the SFRY Assembly all these proposals. In addition we will propose to the SFRY Assembly the amendment of the law on limiting the growth of personal incomes. The high rate of inflation calls for correction in that part of the program which relates to personal incomes. The essence of these changes is to ensure the growth of personal incomes in those organizations of associated labor which expand their production, labor productivity, and export, with the aim to increase motivation for even better and more productive labor. We will send drafts of all the systemic laws which should be adopted this year for the sake of the integral implementation of the economic reform. Several days later we will send only one draft law referring to work organizations and self-managing enterprises. We are expecting a creative and constructive debate on these laws.

They will effect changes which proceed from the observances of economic laws, the consolidation of independence of economic subjects and their responsibility, as well as from the increase in the overall social efficiency.

Regardless of the fact that the present political and social tension in society take us away from our tasks concerning reforms and even threaten to endanger them, I will say on this occasion too that there is no worthy alternative to the adopted course and the implementation of the reform. If anyone knows of an alternative, let him come

out with it and explain it. For this reason we must persevere, and this is possibly only by effective, better and more responsible work of each and every one of us individually.

Dissident Djilas Analyzes Yugoslav Crisis
AU1110161888 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG
in German 8 Oct 88 pp 4-5

["Excerpts" from an article by Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas, published by the Austrian magazine WIENER JOURNAL: "An Interplay Between Serbia's Leadership and the Army"]

[Text] At a tremendous and uncheckable pace, the Yugoslav crisis is becoming more complicated and is further deepening. Put in a simplified way, it is developing from two main sources: national and social.

Until recently, these sources—disruptions on a national level in the party and elsewhere, and workers' strikes—were separated. However, now they are intermingling and intertwining to become a political crisis in forms that differ from one Yugoslav Republic to the other.

However, it is characteristic of all these forms that they are increasingly acquiring national, even nationalist and revanchist components—revanchist with regard to the Communists, as well as other Yugoslav peoples. In Slovenia the present democratic process of change is animated by national rebirth, while in Serbia the party leadership tries to implement the aspiration toward national homogenization by a regeneration of the Stalinist-Titoist, monolithic-monopolistic party. This is not only happening in Serbia, where to a certain extent the leadership has been successful in doing this, but also all over Yugoslavia.

The army's party organization is also striving for such a type of party, in which ideological rigidity and the Tito cult are still persistently preserved. The political interplay between the Serbian leadership and the army, in addition to autocratic Titoist currents in the party, above all in Serbia's party, is rooted in this.

This is the reason for disputes and friction between Slovenia's young democracy and the army: Today, the Slovenes can regard a centralist party army only as something unitarian—as an obstacle to national, political, economic, and every other kind of reorganization. This is why the Slovenian leadership has tried to transform the ruling LC into a democratic socialist party, a task in which the Slovenes—certainly also for national reasons—have been supported by the Croatian Communists. This is also the reason for the blind, conspiratorial campaign of slander waged by the controlled Belgrade press against Slovene youth and the Slovene leaders.

The parties of the Yugoslav Republics and, with them, also the republics themselves, have attained such a degree of political autonomy and of economic and cultural differentiation that they are no longer able to view a centralist party other than as tyranny and regression, with catastrophic consequences for the Yugoslav state community. The Yugoslav state power already consists of a coalition of the parties of the six republics and two provinces. Under concrete circumstances, as a centralist party can be only Titoist and monopolistic, no economic reform, no economy whatsoever, except for an ideological one with party bureaucracy, is possible with such a party. Political monopolism and a modern market economy are simply not feasible.

Here we again witness Hegel's dialectics. Precisely because they constituted a centralist Yugoslav party, the Yugoslav Communists, headed by Tito, saved the Yugoslav state community from the dissolution into which it had been plunged by internecine religious and national struggles during the occupation. Since that time, however, almost everything has changed—even the LCY's centralist character and monopolistic role are in the process of change. Today, communist centralism, which was beneficial to the community during the war and in the 1948 conflict with the Soviet Union, is an obstacle, not only to democratization and economic stabilization, but also to Yugoslavia's stable existence.

Irrespective of dialectics, one thing is obvious from Belgrade to Beijing, and certainly most obvious and dramatic in Yugoslavia: The crisis in which the Communists have been plunged by monopolism or, in other words, man's irresistible existential striving for freer forms causes the communist totalitarians to undermine those works for which they once unsparingly sacrificed themselves.

The fate of the founder of the first realm, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was similar: History is repeating itself, but in another way and with another type of actor.

Djilas Predicts 'Death of Communism'

PM1110132088 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 11 Oct 88 p 36

[Report on interview with Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas by Robin Gedy: "Communism is Dying, Tito's Comrade Says"]

[Text] Belgrade—Yugoslavia's economic crisis is the manifestation of a fundamental political sickness presaging the imminent death of Communism, one of the founders of that system said yesterday.

Mr Milovan Djilas, Doyen of European dissidents and the last living survivor of Yugoslavia's post-war leadership quartet which also included Marshal Tito, Edvard Kardelj and Aleksandar Rankovic, told THE DAILY TELEGRAPH that he was convinced Yugoslavia's Communist system would be gone within 10 years.

"I believe that what is happening today is the beginning of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia is disintegrating and many things are out of control.

"I am convinced that we are witnessing the last stages of Communism throughout the world and that Yugoslavia will be the first European nation to divest itself of the system."

"It is not just the economy, but politics and the people are in chaos here. There is a crisis of inactivity. Nobody knows what to do.

"Yugoslavia is behaving as though it were on the eve of a revolution, but even that is not a certainty because we have no leaders."

Mr Djilas, 77, dismissed the notion that Mr Slobodan Milosevic, the ambitious Serbian Communist Party leader who has risen to prominence on a wave of nationalism, could over become a second Tito.

"He would never be able to preside over the whole Yugoslav Federation. At best his appointment as Yugoslavia's Communist Party leader would split the nation, at worst we would have civil war."

Mr Djilas, allowed to travel abroad this year for the first time since turning against the system and serving nine years in jail between 1956 and 1966, believes Mr Milosevic's designs on power have very clear limits.

"He will remain unacceptable to the majority of Yugoslavs who are not Serbs and would find it impossible to unite a country that has been so purposefully regionalised before Tito's death.

"The tendency towards disintegration in this country is far greater than any aspiration for unity."

Despite his Serb origins, Mr Djilas remains dispassionate about the wave of demonstrations in support of Serb nationhood which he says are ripe for manipulation.

"The protests spring from the crisis of Communism in Yugoslavia. Nationalism is pursued in defiance of Communism and the workers are acting against the interests of the state."

Mr Djilas believes that the latest unrest may culminate in politicising the working classes who have hitherto restricted their protest slogans to economic and nationalist issues.

"This system cannot survive as it is. We need a completely new constitution to replace one formed at a stage when times were different.

"Mr Djilas who has just returned from visiting his son in America, said: "Although America had the Vietnam War and has undergone some other traumas, the fundamental political and social fabric is as strong as ever. The Soviet Union has meanwhile collapsed into crisis."

Earthquake Hits Krusevac; No Damage Reported
LD1210041788 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0338 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 12 (TANJUG)—The seismological institute of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia registered an earthquake in the region of Krusevac at 03:18 [0218 GMT] this morning.

The quake measured around five degrees on the Mercalli scale. Initial reports indicate no damage.